BRITISH AND AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF ROME

# YE SOLACE OF PILGRIMES

## A DESCRIPTION OF ROME, *circa* A.D. 1450, BY JOHN CAPGRAVE, AN AUSTIN FRIAR OF KING'S LYNN

WITH A FRONTISPIECE ILLUSTRATING THE AUTHOR'S HANDWRITING

EDITED BY

C. A. MILLS

SECRETARY, BRITISH AND AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF ROME

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY

THE REV. H. M. BANNISTER, M.A.

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dustr

he may sent a book yat | mad tituled to seynt Wbech is cleped gaudia
be cause it is a maner of a couord be tbiy thanonys and us. The se-
tens of yat translacion | wil write her schortly The ——martyn yat
was last at instans of a frer of our ordre called petur bisthop e
lectens sexten on to ye —— yat tyme for so it is comonly yat yis
ordre hath yat office be instaunce also of a gret clerk cleped augusti
nus de roma grial of yat ordre for yat tyme zaue leue yat freres
of yis ordre schuld goo to hostie and bryng yis body to rome to y
same place of seynt triphoms of Wbech place yis spal chapetr is mad
he yout he sed in his quemet yat sich ye cherch hath determed yat
bonys of yis ordre be ye very childyrn of seyn austyn and eke for
ye cherch be real power breut in to pruy Wher yei haue possession of
ye body of seynt austyn it was also quemet yat yei Wbech haue ye
son schuld also haue ye modr This translacon was mad ye zere of
our lord a iij cc yy Wbech tyme is palme simday fall ye ij day
of aprel Nab of yese seyntis of Wbom ye place is dedicate triphon and
respicius Wil we speke Thei both were bore in asie of good kynrod
of nobil condicon and of gret dispositon on to bertu Wban yei We
re on of hem yt zere old ye oyr yinj happed to mete Wyth a arste
prest Wbech baptized hem Wbech taute hem ye feith and goodly
lerned hem many treuthis of scripture after yei had take in for
macion of yis man yei went forch in ye cuntr Wher yei fel in felaw
schip Wyth a zong child of here age and after her aqueyntaunce yis
same was gretely hurt of a spret he made his quemmone on to
yese seyntis and prayed of help for he knew Wel he sed yat our
lord god had granted hem grace to hole Wbech sores Tho triphon
prayed on to our lord Wyth Wbech Wordis O lord lite of oure
soules medicine ymi eres on to our prayeres and send our felaw
sum tokes of his peyne yat all yis puple may knowbe ye for be
ry lord hauyng power ouyr al yingj Thus was ye child sodeynly
made hool Anoyt grete myracle ded yei be ye Wey to a grekis
eke a marchaund yat fell dolen sodeynly ded in hem sith yei resid
him fro deth to lif and zaue him Wbech exhortacion yat he forsd
he ye Worlds and folowid crist forth all his lyf Thus fro asie in to
rome in eily tolbu or castell Wher yei restid yei preched ye feith of
our lord ihu crist and ded many myracles in encresing of ye feith
So come to rome and Wbele ye in empoure philippis tyme but in
dir decius ye empour Wbere yei martired ye meyr of rome aquili
ne first Wbere yei put in prison kepte fro mete and drynk fro com
fort eke of all cristen men yanne Wbere yei drabbe oute of prison on
to tormetrye and euyr Wher yei redy to all maner peynes putting
of her cloyns Wyth good Wil Wban yei schuld be beryn offeryng
hem selue redy on to all maner tormetrye in all her peynes ye

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## EXPLANATORY NOTE

þ = th.

ȝ = g *or* y; sometimes at the end of a word it may mean h or gh, pronounced or silent.

u = u *or* v as the case may be.

i is sometimes shown short and sometimes long (i or I). Whenever instances of its use in the latter form can be expressed by the more modern 'j' this has been done: e.g. both the forms 'iewis' and 'jewis', 'ion' and 'jon', &c., will be found in the transcript. The long I is generally used to indicate the personal pronoun or the beginning of a sentence. (See Facsimile, f. 387 r, lines 1 and 3, and last line: 'In aꝉ heꝛ peynes þe'.)

Only the punctuation actually indicated in the MS. itself has been entered in the transcript.

Italics in the text of the transcript represent contractions, which, for the sake of convenience, have been expanded and written in full. Words underlined in the same are underlined in the MS. (See Facsimile, f. 387 r, lines 5, 16, and 17.) Whether this was done by the writer or by a reader is difficult to say. It has therefore been shown in every case wherever it occurs.

# PREFACE

Four years ago this MS. was shown to the Rev. H. M. Bannister by Mr. Madan, one of the Bodleian Librarians, with the suggestion that he should publish it if he thought it of sufficient value. It so happened that the editor was present on this occasion, and when Mr. Bannister made a short examination of the MS., the first chapter which came under particular notice was that entitled 'Omnis terra'. This expression alone, as applied to Monte Testaccio, sufficed to show that the work was of considerable interest, and likely to yield some valuable information.

Mr. Bannister, whose whole time is fully occupied with his own special studies, could not, however, find leisure to undertake the necessary transcription, and the editor—although he had never attempted anything of the kind before—offered to do his best if Mr. Bannister would kindly help him with his advice. Mr. Bannister was good enough to promise his assistance, and it has been most generously given; indeed, it is not too much to say that, without it, the editor would have been quite unequal to the task for want of experience.

At this time the name of the author was unknown; but it was hoped to be able to ascertain the date of the work, to compare the facts therein mentioned with those given by known contemporaries, and so test the accuracy and powers of observation of the writer. Fortunately, the MS. yielded abundant information on these points. It was clear that he was an Augustinian friar, and the author of another work entitled *Concordia*[1] (see p. 92 and the facsimile of f. 387 r of the MS.); that he was in Rome during the pontificate of Nicholas V (1447–54); and that he came on a pilgrimage under the special protection of Sir Thomas Tudenham, a gentleman of Norfolk, near King's Lynn, who was executed for high treason in 1461. As there was an Augustinian house at King's Lynn, the natural inference was that the author came from it. Whether or not he wrote the book in England from notes taken in Rome—

[1] Cf. E. E. Text Society, vol. cxl, 1910, p. 146. In a sermon which John Capgrave preached at Cambridge in 1422, he says: 'This mater̃ is proued with grete euydens ... in þe book whech I mad to þe abbot of Seynt Iames at Norhampton in Latin, whech boke I named Concordia, be-cause it is mad to reforme charite be-twix Seynt Augustines heremites and his chanones.'

from internal evidence it is probable that he did—he must have gathered the information he gives us between the years 1447 and 1452, inasmuch as he mentions the recent death of Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who died April 11, 1447, and describes John Kempe as Cardinal of S. Balbina and Archbishop of York, which he ceased to be in July, 1452, on promotion to the higher rank of Cardinal Bishop of S. Rufina and Archbishop of Canterbury. From several passages one can infer that Rome was much crowded when he was there, so that he probably took part in the Jubilee of 1450, for in the fifteenth century the population of Rome was not great.

Fortunately we have other records of pilgrims about this period, notably Giovanni Rucellai, a Florentine merchant, and Niklaus Muffel, a Nürnberg patrician. We have Ranulf Higden and Adam de Usk (an official of the Papal Court) for the period from 1350 *circa* to 1415, before our chronicler's visit; we can also consult von Harff's *Pilgerfahrt*, and the anonymous author of *Ein Büchlein*, &c., Strassburg, 1500, for the latter part of the fifteenth century.

But the most complete test of our author's accuracy is that he was in the habit of copying inscriptions and lists of relics in most of the churches which he visited. From those inscriptions which still exist (and there are several) it will be seen that our Augustinian friar is in every case letter-perfect. We can therefore accept his testimony as to those which have since disappeared. His keenness of observation is remarkable, and he has this one great superiority to most mediaeval writers: viz., that he is most careful not to put down a thing unless he has either seen it himself, or has, in his opinion, the best of authority for it. As examples of this refer, firstly, to what he says about the *archus Prisci Tarquinii* (p. 45): and, secondly, about the relics at S. Lawrence *in Panisperna* (p. 102). In the former case he reproaches himself, and admits frankly that he either did not take the trouble to see, or failed to find the monument, and in the second that he did not make a copy of the list of relics because of the press of people there at the time. His topography is, as a rule, most accurate, and he is a most careful observer and a well-read man. For his facts regarding ancient Rome he depends on the *Mirabilia*, the guide-book of all educated pilgrims of this period. It is also interesting to note that after his death he is sometimes styled 'Beatus', and Henry VII is known to have made an effort to have him canonized.

There is a great wealth of mediaeval legendary lore in Part I of the MS. This has been compared with the works of some of the

best authors on this subject, notably Adinolfi and Graf. The author takes this opportunity of acknowledging his indebtedness to Graf's *Roma nella memoria e nell' immaginazione del Medio Evo*, 2 vols., Turin, 1880, a book which has been of the greatest help, and has been very freely quoted. The legends regarding the lives of the saints in Parts II and III have also been compared with the recognized authorities on this subject.

It will be observed that the editor has not entered upon any critical examination of the work or the text, for which, indeed, he feels that he is not qualified. He has merely made what he hopes is a faithful transcript, and has further attempted to illustrate the MS. by quoting from the writings of contemporary authors, and of others who have dealt with the subject-matter of this chronicle. The present volume was originally intended only to be published privately for the members of the British and American Society of Rome, as an interesting description of Rome by an English pilgrim. The editor had, at first, no idea of appealing to a wider audience. But a discovery made only a few weeks ago, at the time when this book was ready for publication, has thrown an entirely new light upon it. The author's identity has now been ascertained. This is a hitherto lost work of John Capgrave, Prior of King's Lynn and Provincial of the Augustinian Order, a well-known writer and historian of the fifteenth century. The discovery was made in the following manner.

On his way from Rome to Oxford, the editor took the transcript of the MS. to Sir George Warner at the British Museum, to ask his opinion as to the authorship of the MS. From the above-mentioned data he considered that the author might possibly be John Capgrave (1393–1464), who was known to have written a description of Rome. This description had disappeared, with the exception of two fragments which are attached to the binding of two other Capgrave MSS. at Oxford (All Souls and Balliol College Libraries). Sir George Warner then showed the British Museum Capgrave MS. to the editor, who was at once struck with the remarkable similarity of its handwriting to that of the present work. This can be observed by comparing the facsimile of the script of this work with that of the British Museum MS. The latter can be seen in E. E. Text Society, vol. cxl, 1910. On comparing the text of the two fragments (which can be seen in vol. i of the Rolls Series, p. 355) with that of our MS., it was found that the latter was almost an exact copy of portions of chapters XI, XII, and XIII of Part I of

this book.[1] There was now no possible doubt that the present work is the lost description of Rome by John Capgrave, and that a literary discovery of considerable importance had been made.

The further examination of the fragments in question, and of other MSS. reputed to be Capgrave's autograph works, was left to the Rev. H. M. Bannister, as the editor felt that he was not qualified for that task. The result of Mr. Bannister's investigations at Oxford, Cambridge, and London, will be found in his Introductory Note.

It now only remains to express the editor's thanks to those who have been good enough to help him, without which assistance he feels that the task would have been one beyond his powers. First and foremost his most grateful thanks are due to his friend, the Rev. H. M. Bannister, who, whenever it was required, has been most kind in giving his guidance and advice. He also wishes to mention his deep sense of the courtesy of the authorities of the Bodleian Library, who have readily granted him every facility for the transcription and publication of the work. Thanks are also due to the Provost of Oriel and to Father Ehrle, Prefect of the Vatican Library, who have kindly permitted the editor to reproduce the miniatures in Oriel MS. 132 and Vatican Cod. Reginen. 1880. Dr. Ashby, of the British School of Rome, has kindly helped with his advice, and permission to reproduce the illustrations of the Carnival on Monte Testaccio and the churches of Rome from old and rare prints in his possession. The editor also wishes to express his obligation to Dr. Ch. Hülsen, and to authors whose works he has made use of, more especially to Professor Arturo Graf and to Mr. F. M. Nichols, a member of the British and American Archaeological Society.

C. A. MILLS.

OXFORD, *August*, 1911.

[1] From f. 364 r, l. 27, to f. 366 v, l. 2, of the MS.; cf. pp. 26-32.

# INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In the Preface the editor has shown how the MS. here published was ascertained to be the long-lost work on Rome by John Capgrave. My connexion with it has been confined to: (1) an examination of the MS., with a suggestion as to its date and orthography; (2) advice as to the method of editing it; and (3) an investigation as to whether it can claim to be an actual autograph of the author.

1. The MS. 2322 (Bodley MS. 423), 1 + 416 leaves of parchment and paper, 272 × 197 mm., is a composite volume containing five MSS.,[1] of which the Capgrave is the last; but as the other four came as a donation from Dr. W. Cotton, Bishop of Exeter, in 1605, and were bound together with it by Sir Thomas Bodley's orders, they need not be considered here. It is to be regretted that our MS. was then considerably cut down both in length and breadth to match the other four, hence its *marginalia* are now incomplete, and the original pagination was so cut away that it had to be refoliated as ff. 355–414. At present it consists of eight quires of eight parchment leaves; the third one lacks its middle four leaves, and the last one has one missing leaf; the rest of the MS. is now lost. It bears on its first page the title 'Stations of Rome' in Bodley's handwriting.

There are no signs of Norfolk provenance in the rest of the volume; the only name added in our MS. is that on f. 387 v of Warner, a common Norfolk name, but there is nothing to show what connexion he had with the MS.

(*a*) *Date of the work.* Dr. Furnivall (Early English Text Society, vol. c, p. viii) has suggested that it was at some date after 1422 and before *c.* 1437, when he settled down to write his Annals, that Capgrave went to Rome and was there in his illness helped by Bishop Grey. These dates, however, are not consistent with the bishop's movements, for his sojourn in Italy was mostly after 1442, and he did not take up his abode in Rome until 1449. This date fits in admirably with that assigned by the editor to our MS., viz. *c.* 1450.

(*b*) *Orthography.* The present MS. adds considerably to our knowledge of the Middle English of the fifteenth century; for an account of this, the reader is referred to the recent editions of two of John Capgrave's other

[1] I am much indebted to Mr. Madan for allowing me to see his copy for the next volume of the *Summary Catalogue*.

English works in vols. c and cxl of the Early English Text Society, and to the Glossary at the end of vol. i of the Rolls Series. A further notice of Capgrave's English can be seen in *John Capgrave und die englische Schriftsprache,* a doctor's disputation by William Dibelius, Friedrich-Wilhelms University, Berlin, 1899.

2. I have suggested that the practice of the Early English Text Society should be retained as to the use of the þ and the ȝ, in the typographical reproduction of the final g̃, h̃, m̃, and r̃, and in the universal use, as in the MS. of *u* for *v*; but as to punctuation I felt that the custom of the MS. should be invariably retained; it may occasionally be defective and misleading, and, to our minds, it is always incomplete, but I think that the small additional effort demanded of the reader is preferable to an arbitrary editorial trampling on the transcription of the text. For the same reason I have not advised that hyphens should be inserted between adverbs and their adjectives, or between two words which are now joined together, such as *on to, with in, be for,* for the MS. in *very* few instances lessens in their case the space between the words, and capital letters are not used for such words where only modern custom demands them, unless the text gives some warranty for their use.

The text of the MS. in every case treats the final syllables of words ending in *-ion,* such as *opposition, petition, meditation, religion* (cf. Early English Text Society, vol. cxl, p. 61), as written *-ioū* with contraction mark for *n* over the *u* and not as *-ion.* The *u* and *n* of the MS. are practically identical in form; the letter is here written as intended by the scribe, and the example of the Early English Text Society, vol. cxxii, pp. 510, &c., which prints *Eueas* for *Eneas* because the second letter looks more like a *u* than an *n,* has not been followed. I am aware that in this advice I am departing from the usual modern practice, but the exact transcription of the text appears to me to be of more importance than an attempt to render it more intelligible to some of its readers.

3. The question as to John Capgrave's autograph is more difficult than appears at first sight; it has been seriously compromised by the fact that almost without exception every early MS. of his writings has been called his autograph by recent editors and cataloguers. For convenience of reference these MSS. are here recited:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| No. 1. | Liber de illustribus Henricis. | Corpus Christi, Cambridge, MS. 408. |
| ,, 2. | Lives of S. Augustine, S. Gilbert, &c. | Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 36704. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| No. 3. | Description of Rome. | Bodleian MS. 423—*the present one.* |
| „ 4. | Fragments of „ | Fly-leaves of { All Souls MS. 17. Balliol MS. 190. |
| „ 5. | Commentary on Genesis. | Oriel MS. 132. |
| „ 6. | „ „ Exodus. | Bodl. Duke Humphrey MS. b. 1. |
| „ 7. | „ „ the Acts. | Balliol MS. 189. |
| „ 8. | The Chronicle of England. | Univ. Libr. Cambridge, Gg. 4. 12. |
| „ 9. | Commentary on the Creeds. | Balliol MS. 190. |
| „ 10. | „ „ „ | All Souls MS. 17. |
| „ 11. | Life of St. Norbert. | Phillipps Library, Cheltenham. |

The article on John Capgrave in the *Dictionary of National Biography* applies the term 'autograph' to 1, 5, 8, 10, and perhaps 7. This statement is apparently founded on Preb. Hingeston-Randolph's Introd. to Nos. 1 and 7 in the Rolls Series, vol. vii, pp. li, 124, 183, 211 [1], and vol. i, pp. xiii, xvi, xx, xxvi, 356, and is acccpted by Dr. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, vol. c (1893), pp. xiii, xiv, xviii, and by Dr. Horstmann, *Nova Legenda Angliae* (Oxford, 1901), vol. i, p. lxviii, who includes in the list of autographs No. 11. The *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS. in the British Museum, MDCCCC–MDCCCCV* (1907), p. vii, speaks of No. 2 as 'autograph', and states that 'the hand, both of text and corrections, agrees with that' of No. 8, 'which there seems to be adequate reason for regarding as Capgrave's MS.,' and refers to the *Dictionary of National Biography* for several other of his works occurring in the same haud. The latest editor of Capgrave, Mr. J. J. Munro, in his Introd. to the *Lives of S. Augustine, S. Gilbert*, &c. (Early English Text Society, vol. cxl (1910), p. ix), states that No. 2 is in Capgrave's own hand, with his characteristic orthography, and contains the author's corrections in the text.

Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian, in an insertion in Mr. F. Madan's *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS.*, &c., vol. vi, Pt. I, states that 'The companion Genesis', i.e. No. 5, 'shows that the Exodus' (No. 6) purchased for the Bodleiau in January, 1907, 'is in Capgrave's own hand.' Similar conceptions cau be seen in K. K. Vickers, *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester* (London, 1907), 'the original copy is at Oriel'; and Dr. M. R.

[1] 'The style of the writing of Cambridge, Gg. 4. 12, corresponds very closely with that of those MSS. of Capgrave which are known, hy unmistakable evidence, to have heen written by his own hand. . . . A comparison of all the extant MSS. leaves no doubt as to the identity of the author's handwriting and which of them are autographs' (Rolls Series, vol. i, p. xxvi). 'The writing of No. 1 corresponds *exactly* with that of Nos. 4, 7, 8, 10. Two at least of these MSS. contain good, though not strictly conclusive, evidence that they are in the handwriting of their author' (Rolls Series, vol. vii, p. li).

James's *Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (1910), p. 378, 'the autograph MS. is Univ. Library, Gg. 4. 12.'

Doubts, however, arose as to the statement in the Introduction to *The Chronicle of England*, Rolls Series, vol. i, p. 356, that the handwriting of No. 4 (the fragments of the Guide to the Antiquities of Rome) was 'identical with that of the English Chronicle and the other works of John Capgrave, of which we possess the autographs', and Prof. Napier's letter of May 16, 1892 (Early English Text Society, vol. c, p. xxxiv), proved that 'neither the fly-leaves of All Souls' 17 nor the body of that MS. are in the same hand as the Cambridge University MS. of the Chronicle; all three are different'.

Doubts, too, have been expressed as to the validity of the argument founded on the use of the so-called autograph which forms the colophon at the end of several MSS., *Feliciter per John Capgrave*, and of the trefoil-shaped monogram which is assumed to be the private mark of the author, which either accompanies the colophon or occurs in the margin of some of the MSS.

The present seemed to be an appropriate time to investigate the above statements, and to ascertain, if possible, exactly how many MSS. are John Capgrave's autograph. It has been my privilege to compare at the same time all the MSS. at Oxford, Nos. 3–6, 7, 9, 10, and to examine the two at Cambridge, Nos. 1, 8, and the one at the British Museum, No. 2—in fact all the possible 'autographs' of Capgrave with the exception of No. 11—with the following results:—

(i) The Rome fragments, No. 4, are scarcely (cf. Rolls Series, vol. i, p. 356) 'only first and rough copies', and that *this* is the cause of the 'universal carelessness of the spelling, and the incompleteness of many of the sentences'. My impression is that these leaves formed part of a *late* copy which must have been made from dictation, for no other explanation seems to account for the entirely different spelling, e.g. *say* for *sey*, *siluer* for *siluyr*, *conqueste* for *conqwest*, *sekernes* for *sekir nerkis*, &c.; a copy which has no words underlined and no initial letters inserted in colour, but was left unfinished and rejected as only fit for fly-leaves of other MSS. No one can take up our present MS. and compare it with the two fragments without being struck by its great superiority and accuracy. (Some of the errors in the fragments as printed in the Rolls Series, No. 7, are due not to the scribe but to the transcriber, who has turned 'christes birth' into 'giftes such', has omitted the word 'puerum' which is necessary for the scansion of a hexameter, and has printed 'exameron' as 'epistolarinm'.)

(ii) *Feliciter per John Capgrave*, which forms the colophon in Nos. 1, 5–7, 9–11, is, judging by the form of the letters *a*, *l*, *p*, the work of at least

four or five different scribes; its position varies, for it occurs either as a separate clause, attached to or separate from the text of the *corpus libri*, or as part of the *Incepit*, &c., or as *Feliciter* only. In the presentation copies to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Bishop Grey, Nos. 5–7, which I believe to have been written by professional copyists, these words are undoubtedly by the hand of the copyist. The expression is doubtless derived from the author's colophon in the original copy, as we shall see in the *De illustribus Henricis*, No. 1, but it was retained and copied more or less exactly by subsequent scribes. Thus Genesis and Exodus, though the work of the same copyist, differ in that the former uses *Feliciter* only whilst the latter has *F. p. J. C.* The argument founded on the occurrence of these words has been unduly forced, for they do not bear the interpretation usually assigned to them.

(iii) The trefoil mark occurs in Nos. 1, 5–11, either in black or red; its shape varies considerably, being either with or without a stalk, the shape of which is seldom made in the same way. It is found occasionally in the margins of some MSS., in places which do not seem to have called for special notice, except that it is affixed to the year of the author's birth, to his personal opinion, 'we think that', and to references to the resurrection. It is also used in connexion with, either before or after, the *Feliciter per John Capgrave*. It used to be called the private monogram of John Capgrave, but recent editors have felt that this is an unsafe argument, e. g. Mr. Munro (Early English Text Society, vol. cxl, p. 10), 'the monogram itself is not infallible, nor is the *Feliciter*, &c., for both of these were liable to be copied'; and Prof. Napier writes (loc. cit.), 'the sign may have been copied from the exemplar.'

(iv) What authority have such expressions as *Incepit . . . hoc opus . . . et fecit finem ejusdem*, as found in the Genesis and the Exodus? Do they necessarily refer to the copying of the MS. and not to the composition of the work itself? The use of the third person instead of the first, and of *hoc opus* instead of *hunc librum*, though not conclusive, is at least suggestive; I believe that in most cases the original colophon in the author's copy was copied by the transcriber, without any intention of misleading or fear of misapprehension. As a matter of fact, of how many mediaeval authors do we possess the *ipsissima scripta*? They wrote either rough notes or rough copy, occasionally they made a fair copy, but as a rule this was done by professional scribes, who produced the exemplar which served for others in the same or some other scriptorium. Unless a MS. gives us, either by some expression in the text or by its *known* handwriting, some evidence to the contrary, no copy of any work should be regarded as written by the author.

(v) Of the ten MSS. examined, three are the work of one scribe, two of another, but the remaining five are due to different copyists. It is true that the dates of the works copied extend from 1438 to 1461, yet, especially in the larger MSS., most of them show signs of a common *scriptorium* by the ruling of the lines, the underlining in red, and the scroll mark at the end of the quires; one can detect the same illuminators and the same revisers, but the writing itself varies considerably, being either an ecclesiastical script (preferred for the Latin MSS.), occasionally badly formed, or the usual English script of the fifteenth century; in the case of the Genesis, Exodus, and Acts both are employed.

(vi) The same scribe probably copied Nos. 5 and 6, the Genesis and Exodus; both MSS. have for the Bible text a larger script than that employed for the *Expositio*, and at first sight the hands seem dissimilar (cf. especially No. 6, f. 75 r), but there is no reason why difference of parchment, of pen, and of ink may not account for this. Hence, though a second scribe is suggested by the different position of the *Feliciter* and by the varying words of the *Incepit*, &c., I attribute to the same trained copyist both these presentation copies to Duke Humphrey.

(vii) There is one MS., however, which is undoubtedly the autograph of John Capgrave: No. 1, the *De illustribus Henricis* at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. At pp. 135, 138, where the author gives the title and *incipit* of certain works which he had seen, he uses a thicker pen or darker ink in order to make these *incipit* more prominent; but for the last example his memory failed him, and he inserted later on, in a third quality of ink,[1] 'iam non recordor quoniam ad manus non est.' There is no change whatever in the handwriting. This proof of autograph seems decisive and unanswerable; no one but Capgrave himself could have inserted these words. (The English words on p. 108, 'make no space but writh forth INVOCATO' (see Rolls Series, vol. vii, p. 11), a direction for some future copyist, may be and in fact seem to be the work of a subsequent reviser, but the 'corrige librum quia erronec scribitur' on p. 83 is apparently by the author.)

With this MS. before us, we are able to point out two others which by the rules of their Libraries cannot be compared side by side, but which a careful examination of each letter proves to be by Capgrave himself. These are:

(*a*) No. 2. British Museum, Add. MS. 36704, which the Catalogue rightly calls 'autograph', but it unfortunately quotes as a similar hand No. 8, the Cambridge University copy of *The Chronicle*; the alphabet, however, of this

[1] Similar change of quality of ink can be seen on pp. 93–95; the MS. clearly was not all written at one time; cf. pp. 95, 111.

MS. in at least eight letters, *a*, *b*, *d*, *h*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *w*, is entirely different. This can be seen by a comparison of the facsimiles in Early English Text Society, vol. cxl, and in the Rolls Series, vol. i.

No. 2 bears some evidence on the fly-leaf, f. 3 r, as to the author: '*Magister* Iohannes Capgrave conuentus linn fecit istum librum ex precepto unius generose.' The expression *facere librum* (not *opus*) seems to refer to the writing of the MS.; hence, with the palaeographical evidence before me, I share the opinion of Mr. Munro, who apparently had not seen the Corpus MS., that No. 2 is a holograph of Capgrave's.

(*b*) *The MS. now edited.* A comparison of the collotype of f. 387r of this MS., here printed, with that of No. 2 (Early English Text Society, vol. cxl) leaves no doubt as to their both having been written by the same man; the words *augustinus* (augustyn), *ordre* (ordre), *titiled* (entytled), *seynt*, *frer*, and *whech* occur on both facsimiles; the words 'concordia' and 'ye ȝere of our lord a mccccxij' of our collotype can be seen on ff. 116, 117 of the British Museum MS. It appears to me that the identity is indisputable.

(viii) Judging by Dr. Furnivall's account (Early English Text Society, vol. c, pp. xliv, xlv), the MS. at Cheltenham would appear to be an autograph.

(ix) There is, however, another source of evidence open to us: the script of contemporary or early revisers of the text. Did John Capgrave correct any of the MSS. which he did not write himself, and if he did, may not his autograph appear in the margins or between the lines of their text? One would naturally expect corrections by the author of a presentation copy of any of his works, in order that the accuracy of the copy should be guaranteed, but in the MSS. before us each one without exception bears some witness in this sense (*later* additions do not concern us), and the writing of at least three or four revisers can be made out.

Taking them in order and summarizing my notes, I find that—

No. 1. In almost every page Capgrave has inserted words above the line with a red sign (∧) below, and in the margins; I see no trace of any other reviser.

No. 2. Nearly all the corrections are due to the scribe himself.

No. 3. The text has frequently been altered by erasures or by a red deleting line, without any advisory indications in the margin. This is what one would expect if the author were personally revising his own writing.

No. 4 was left in its imperfect state.

Nos. 5 and 6. Both MSS. were carefully looked over by some one who inserted in red (in the margin and between the lines of the text) words which were to be altered or inserted; where the words erroneously written

in the text were so many that an erasure was impossible, *va . . . cat* is written at their beginning and end. These temporary readings were almost always erased as soon as they had served their purpose and the original scribe had inserted them in the text. These corrections are naturally fewer in the Exodus than in the Genesis. To Capgrave may possibly be ascribed the words '*contra* sac*erdotes* t*er*rarios' (!) in the Genesis, chapter 45—they are not a correction of the text, but are apparently the expression of the author calling attention to its purport.

No. 7 has very few alterations, all apparently by the first hand—the 'in ydiomate' in the margin of Acts, chapter 21, is preceded by the red line and point (1.) which occurs five times in our MS.

No. 8 has been carefully revised by the original scribe.

No. 9. Capgrave's hand is probably to be seen in the margins of ff. 5 v, 49 v, 111 r (in the latter page the red 1. appears); the other few corrections are either by the original scribe, or by the reviser of the All Souls MS.

No. 10. On pp. 175, 204 I detect the hand of Capgrave, and I note that the reviser of No. 9 also exercised his office on this MS.; a reference to the Book of Judges occurs by the same hand in All Souls, pp. 2, 77, and in Balliol 190, ff. 4 v, 42 r; 'iste s*er*mo' &c., All Souls, p. 60, is by the scribe who wrote 'idem s*er*mo est' in Balliol 190, f. 33 r, but the 'It*er*um Sim-b*olum* hugonis' of p. 4 is, as in No. 9, apparently by Capgrave.

But a discussion of such details would lead us too far; they are only a corollary to the evidence that we have produced as to the autograph of Capgrave being found in three MSS.: C.C.C. Camb. 408, B.M. Add. MS. 36704, and in the volume now under examination—but in the *text* of no other MS.

HENRY MARRIOTT BANNISTER.

Oxford, *August* 5, 1911.

# YE SOLACE OF PILGRIMES

MANY men in þis world aftyr heꝛ pilg*ri*mage haue left memoriales of f. 355 r
swech þingis as þei haue herd and seyn þat nowt only here eres schuld beꝛ witnesse but eke heꝛ eyne. So ded pictagoras þat trauayled as seith sey*n*t ierome be þe *pro*phetis me*m*phetik. So did plato þat laboured þorw egipt and alle þoo cuntres of itayle wech weꝛ called sumtyme grecia maior[1] not aschamed he þat was a maystir at atenes schuld be a pilg*ri*me for to lerne strange þingis namely in straun*g*e cu*n*trees. To on eke þat was clepid titus liui*us* came many me*n* owt of spayn on to rome moꝛ for þe fame of þe man þan þe fame of þe cite for to here him trete and dispute of þe werkys of natuꝛ and þe maneres of men whech are come*n*dable. This same clerk seynt jerom þat wrytith alle þese storyes he him selue laboured alł þe holy lond to knowe þe spaces and þe townes þeꝛ þe holy pat*ri*arches dwelt sumtyme & spe*ci*aly þeꝛ our lord ihū with his holy presens halowid þe circuite. Y*er*foꝛ þei þat wil knowe þis p*ro*cesse lete he*m* rede þe same book of seynt ierom whech is called de dista*n*ciis locor*um*. Also þeꝛ was a man of uenys whech þei called marcus paulus he laboured alł þe soudanes londe and descryued on to us þe natuꝛ of þe cuntꝛ þe condiciones of þe men and þe stately aray of þe grete cane houshold. Eke jon mau*n*deuyle knyth of yngland aftir his labouꝛ made a book ful solacious on to his nacyou*n*. Aftyr alł þese grete cryeris of many wonderfułł þingis I wyl folow with a smal pypying of swech straun*g*e sitis as I haue seyn and swech straun*g*e þiugis as I haue herd. No ma*n* blame me þow he be leue not þat I schal write for I schal not write but þat I fynde in auctores & þat is for a p*ri*ncipałł, or ellis þat I sey with eye and þat is for a secu*n*dari, or ellis þat I suppose is soth lete þat be of best auctorite. Ou to alł men of my naciou*n* þat schal rede þis p*re*sent book and namely on to my spe*ci*al mayst*r* sir thomas tudenham[2] undyr whos p*ro*teccio*un* my pylg*ri*mage was spe*ci*aly sped I recomende my sympilnesse prayiug hem of paciens in þe redyng þat

grecia maior.

[1] Corrected thus in MS.: *grete grece.*

[2] Sir Thomas Tudenham was 18 years old in 1417; married Alice, daughter of John Wodehouse, before he was of age; had no issue; obtained a divorce Nov. 22, 1436; and was beheaded on Tower Hill on Feb. 22, 1461, together with John, Earl of Oxford, the Earl's son Aubrey, John Montgomery, and William Tyrrell, for corresponding with Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI. He was Lord of the Manor of Oxburgh, in the NW. part of the County of Norfolk, not far from King's Lynn. There were three houses of Austin friars in the county, one at Norwich, one at Thetford, and one at King's Lynn (Blomefield, *Norfolk*, vol. vi, p. 174, n. 4, p. 175).



9

þei take no hed at no crafty langage whe̅r non is but at þe good entent of þe make̅r. If ȝe wil algate wite what ye book schal hite me þinkith best to kalle it solace of pilg*ri*mys in whech schal be all̃ þe descripcio*un* declared of rome þat was before schortly drawe i*n* a mappa.[1] The forme of ou̅r werk schal be ordred þus. The first part schal declare the disposicio*un* of rome fro his first makyng. The secu*n*de part schal decla̅r þe holynesse of þe same place fro his first crystendam. These be þe chapeteres of þe first part.

¶ Whech we̅r þe first fou*n*dator*is* of rome. p*ri*mi.

¶ Of þe dyu*er*se ȝatis wallis and towris of rome. ii.

¶ Of þe dyuerse bryg*gis* of rome. iii.

¶ Of þe dyuerse hillis of rome. iiii.

f. 355 v ¶ Of þe mul/titude of paleys in rome. u.

¶ Of þe multitude of arches in rome rered for dyu*er*s uictories. ui.

¶ Who many cymyteries be in rome. uii.

¶ Who many o̅þir holy places & of he̅r names be for it was cristen. uiii.

¶ Of þat place in sp*eci*al þat is calle angulla sc̄i petri. ix.

¶ Of dyuers templis of fals goddis now turnyd to ser*u*yse of seynt*is*. x.

¶ Of þe capitole p*ri*ncipall̃ place of þe cite. xi.

¶ Of þe too hors of marbill̃ and too nakid men whech þei clepe þe caballis. xii.

¶ Of þe hors of brasse and þe ryde̅r þat stant at late*r*ane. xiii.

¶ Of þat place whech þei clepe þe collise. xiiii.

¶ Of þat place eke whech þei clepe pantheon. xu.

¶ Of þe fay̅r place clepit Ara celi. xni.

¶ Of þe tou̅r þat stant fast be þe ȝate whech is clepid porta flaminea. xuii.

¶ Of þat werk whech þei clepe septisoliu*m*. xuiii.

¶ Of þe arche clepid prici tarq*ui*ni. xuiiii.

¶ Of þe place be fore seynt petres kyrk whech þei calle cantarus xx.

¶ Of þe sepulcris of rem*us* and romulus. xxi.

¶ Of þe paleys longyng to traiane & adriane. xxii.

¶ [2] Of þe conke in whech constantine was baptized. xxiii.

Of þe gouernouris in rome fro þe tymc of romul*us* on to þe last kyng tarq*ui*ni*us* xxiiii.

Of þe gou*er*noures in rome fro þat same kyng*is* on to þat emp*er*our*is* begu*n*ne. xxn.

Of all̃ þe emp*er*our*is* from juli*us* cesar on to frederik. xxui.

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[1] The writer is here evidently alluding to an early map or plan of Rome, but which one it is now impossible to say.

[2] In the margin (opposite the word 'constantine') are the letters 'place oı̄s tra̅'; the rest of the words having been cut away in binding this MS. with three others.

Whech weꝛ first foundatour*is* of rome cap̄ i.

Of þe auctoris or ellis þe makeris of rome or of hem þat first dwelt þere are many opynyones. Sum*m*e sey þat remus & romulus bilid it first & ȝaue heꝛ name to it but a geyn þat opynyou*n* is solin*us* de mirabilib*us* m*un*di þat seith it hith rome er þese brethr*yn* weꝛ boꝛ. For þese oppynyones and many moo I wil p*ro*cede be ordre and declare on to þe rederes of þe first dwellen*is* of rome. Theꝛ was a cronicaleꝛ in elde tyme whech þei called Estodius[1] whos book is not now redyly fou*n*de but he is rehersid in þe neweꝛ bookis as for a trewe auctouꝛ. Thus writith he that aftir þe tyme þat noe had seyn who his succession had bilid þt hy touꝛ of babilon & ueni-au*n*ce taken on þe puple in confusiou*n* of tungis þat same noe with certeyn of his frenschip in a litil schip seyled in to itayle dwelt and deyid in þat same place whech we clepe now rome.[2] Aftir him dwelt yere janus[3] his sone othir cronicles calle him ionic*us* and þei sey of hym þat he was a grete astronomeꝛ for he taut þat sciens on to nembroth he eke p*ro*phecied of þe regnes þat weꝛ deryued fro þe sunnys of noe. For of cam was he belus born afterward kyng of surry. Of sem spronge þei of mede þei of p*er*se and þei eke of grece. And of iaphet come þe romaynes. These þingis wrote þis jonic*us* and many othir. Neuyr þe lasse for I am not sykyr wheythir / þese f. 356 r too names longyn to o man or to too þ*er*for I write what cronicles sey of janus. Ianus þei say with janus his son & his neue tamese[4] biggid þe cite whech þei called janiclye and eke ouyr tibur he mad a paleys whech he clepid janicle in þat same place weꝛ seynt pet*er* cherch stant and þe paleys as I suppose for þis cause for þe hill a boue þese too hith ȝet mons janicul*us*. Sone after þis tyme saturne whech was of his owne son gelt and fled fro his

[1] Although he is mentioned by name in old chronicles no other trace of the works of Hescodius (Escodius, Estodius) can be found. Sometimes he is, without any justification, identified with Hesiod, and sometimes with Methodius (Nichols, *The Marvels of Rome*, part i, ch. i, p. 2, n. 2).

[2] The legend of Noah having died at Rome is very fully discussed in A. Graf's *Roma nella memoria e nell' immaginazione del Medio Evo*, a book which will be much quoted in part i of this chronicle. From note 15, pp. 85–6, vol. i, of the same, it would appear that near the well-known Colonnacce, in the forum of Nerva, there was an arch, known before the fifteenth century as the 'arch of Noah', probably a corruption of *arcus Nervae* (Graf, *Roma nella memoria*, &c., vol. i, pp. 80–91; Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, part i, ch. i, p. 2, n. 3). For another account of the *Arco di Noe*, and the *Arco di Oro* or *Aureo*, and the origins of these names, cf. Adinolfi, vol. ii, pp. 58–9, and pp. 63–4.

[3] Ranulf Higden (born in the latter end of the thirteenth century, died probably in A.D. 1363) says: 'Ianus vero cum Iano filio Iaphet nepote suo trans Tiberim Ianiculum condidit, ubi modo est ecclesia Sancti Iohannis ad Ianiculum' (Higden, *Polychronicon*, ed. Babington, London, 1865, vol. i, p. 208; Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, part i, cb. i, p. 2, n. 4).

[4] He is called Camese in the *Mirabilia*; and, in that work, is not a relative of Janus, but a native of the place, who helped Janus to build the city Janiculum on the Palatiue hill (Urlichs, *Codex Topographicus*, p. 113; Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, p. 2).

cuntre he cam to þe same place and þeꝛ aftyr many bataylis he bylid a cyte where now stant þe capitole. In þoo same dayis þe kyng of itaile cam to þe same satnrne with aⁿ þe strcngth of þe siracusanis whech is a cyte of cicile and he bylid eke a grete part of rome fast by þe flood þat was þanꝛ clepid albula and now is it clepid tibur. Hercules eke his son as uarro writith mad a cite undir þe capitol whech he clepid ualery. Than cam a kyng þat dwelt up on tybuꝛ and mad þeꝛ a cyte. Euander after þis kyng of archadye bilid him a cite in þe mount palantine. This same man fled his cuntꝛ as summe men seyn for he had kyllid his fadir at instauns of his moder whech hith hym grete þingis for þe dede and aftirward fled with hym on to rome. Of þis same Euander spekith uirgil in þe uiii book eneydos. Aftir him to men on hith coroboam an othir hith glausus bylid mech þing in rome. And þanꝛ as writith solinus cam a fled woman fro troye whos name was romen sumtyme it is seid þat sche was dowtir to eneas and summe tyme it is seid sche was but cosin but sche ȝaue þe name to þe cyte as we seide be foꝛ longe or remus and romulus weꝛ bore. Wherfor writith þis auctouꝛ þat it was for bodyn in heꝛ sacraries yat no man schul name þis woman but only put aⁿ þe honour on to romulus aftir tyme he had take þe reule.[1] Auentinus eke þe kyng of albany mad him a cite in þat hiⁿ þat is ȝet called auentyn. And þanꝛ euene iiii hnndred ȝere aftir þe destrnccioun of troye fifty and fonr romulus born of þe troianes blood his broþir remus deed or slayn þe ȝeꝛ of his age xxii þe xu kalende of may aⁿ þese forsaide citees coupled to gydir and walled in on empire. And be cause þat þese too bretherin mad rome & sette it in a perfithnesse þerfor me þinkith ful necessarie to descryue heꝛ birth and heꝛ persones for eschewing of grete errouris þat poetis feyne of hem. There was a kyng fast be rome in þe kyngdam þat was called regio latinorum whos name þei clepid Amnlius þe son to procate kyng of þe same. This man Amilius had a eldeꝛ brothir þat hith munitor. So þis ȝongeꝛ brothir droue out þe elder fro þat kyngdam and exiled for euyr for he wold be kyng alone. Eke he took his doutyr clepid rea
f. 356 v and put hiꝛ in a hous of / religioun dedicate on to mars god of batayle þat sche schuld beꝛ no childyrn whech upenhap myth uenge þe wrong þat was do. This woman þus constreyned to chastite conseyued it is not pleynli teld of whom for aⁿ þe clerkys in þoo dayis feyned þat þese too men weꝛ be gotyn of a god celestiaⁿ[2] and so þe woman hir selue confessed þat mars god of batayle had

[1] For the above account of the foundation of Rome compare Nichols, *The Marvels of Rome*, part i, ch. i; being a translation, with notes, of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*; also Urlichs, *Codex Urbis Romae Topographicus*, p. 113.

[2] Brunetto Latini (born at Florence 1230, died 1294), on p. 43 of *Li Livres dou Tresor* (Paris, 1863), says: 'Cil Numitor en fu rois après la mort de son pere, et avoit une fille qui avoit à non Emilia; mais Amulio li toli son regne, et chaca Numitorem et sa fille en essil, et il

be goten þese childirn. But for all þat þe trewe jugis at þat time *con*-dempued hir to be doluyn qwik for swech deth was ordeyned þann for maydenes þat wer consecrate to þe templis if þei broke her chastite. Aftir þe deth of þe moder þese too childyrn wer leyd be þe tibur side þat doggis and woluys schuld distroye hem. So happed a schypard þat kept þe kyngis flok whos name was fastulus to kom by and sey þoo fayr babes left in swech *per*ell he took hem up and bare hem hoom to his wyf laur*e*n*s* þat sche schuld norch hem and releue hem. It is seid comou*n*ly þat þei wer fed of a wolf for þis same laurence was called lupa whech sou*n*dith in our langage a wolf rith for þis cause fer sche was fayr and lecherons aud grete appetite had to mauy men and þ*er*for was sche likned on to þis stynkyng beest. And 3et on to þis day þe eelles þat comown women dwell in þorw oute þe latyn tonge be clepid lupanaria þat is to sey houses of woluys. But who so euyr it be of þese exposiciones þe cronicles of rome aud pictur þorw ytaile bere wytnesse þat a wolf 3aue soke on to þese childyrn p*er*aueuture or faustulus had fou*n*de hem.[1] Thus grew þei undir p*ro*tecciou*n* of þis schiphard and his wif til þei come to swech age þat þei coude ryde and schote & put hem in prees þ*er*e buffetis schuld be 3oue. So it happed on a tyme þat remus went oute a lone or ellis with a smal felawchip and was taken of theuys led as a thef to þis munitor þat was his moderis fadir. That herd sey romul*us* and with fastulus þe schiphard gadered a grete strength for to fecch hom his broþir and whan he cam to þis munitor and herd him telle what wrong his 3onger brothir had doo to hym þei alle in fere went and kyllid þis amilium and restored þe trewe eyir to þe kyngdam. Thus haue I schewid her þat þow þer wer many dwelleris at rome be fore þese too breþrin 3et þei coupled all þese citees to gidir made þe wallis and þe touris whech wer not mad be for. This cite iu þis wise was begu*n*ne of þese too men þe xix 3er of phacee kyng of isrl and þe iiii 3er of achaz kyng of ierlm in þe fourte age of þe world of whech was spent iii hundred 3ere and xxiii fro þe begy*n*ny*n*g of þe world iii þousand ii hnndred lxxxii and fro þe destruccion*n* of troye iiii huudred & liiii. The þird 3er folowyng aftir þis was remus

se fist faire roi; et Emilia concut ii filz, Romulum et Remum, en tel maniere que nus ne sot qui fu lor peres; mais li plusor disoient que Mars, li diez des batailles, les engendra, et dès lors en avant fu cele feme apelée Rea, et puis fist ele une cité en mileu de Ytaille, qui por le non de li est apelée Reate.'

[1] 'Et porce que maintes estoires devisent que Romulus et Remus furent né d'une lue, il est bien droiz que je en die la verité. Il est voirs que quant ils furent né, l'on les gita sor une riviere porce que la gent ne s'aperceussent que lor mere eust conceu. Entor cele riviere manoit une feme qui servoit a touz comunement, et tels femes sont apelées en latin lues. Cele feme prist les enfanz et les norri molt doucement; et por ce fu il dit que il estoient fil d'une lue, mais ne estoient mie' (Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. Chabaille, Paris, 1863, p. 43; Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nell' immaginazione del Medio Evo*, vol. i, p. 96).

slayn with a laboureris rake of a man þat hith fabius duke of romulus host
357 r wheythir be þe consent of romulus / or nowt is put in dowt.[1] Rakes are called þer long hokis of yrnn with too tynes with whech þei tnrne her lond. For enene as we with spadis put þe lond from us in deluyng so þei with her rakes draw it on to hem.[2] Summe writeris sey þat þese too breþriu fell at debate whech of hem schuld be principall and it plesed hem both þat þis souereynte schuld be had with sum heuenely tokne. So both to wer acordid to go in to þe hill aduentyne aud whan þei come þedir first on to remus appered seuene egles þan after on to romulus appered fourtene. Remus mad his chalange yat he schuld be principall for þe first apperyng. Romulus seyd he had mor rith for þe gretter nowmbyr and so in þis strif þe forseyd man fabius hit him with a rake þat lay next hand as is seyd be for. An othir opinionn of his deth I fynde wrytyn þat aftir þe wallis wer made summe & summe dikys þer þe wallis schuld be it was mad a lawe þat no man schuld passe hem with outen leue and in dew tyme and for þe cause þat remus was þe first breker of þis lawe yerfor was he slayn. Aftir þe deth of þis man romulus called on to þe cite mech sundry puple sabinenses albanenses tusculanes politanes celanenses sicanenses camarianis campanis lucanis & ny all þe noble puple of itayle. Than was þe grete care for to haue so many men with outen women and specialy for þei of þe cuntre were not glad to lete her dowteris be weddid to þe dwelleris of rome for þe grete noyse þat was of hem iu extorsion theft and mordr as is used a mongis werriouris. Wherfor þis same romulus let make a grete cry of dyuers exercises iustyng schetyng putting at þe ston and swech othir to towe þe cuntr both man and woman on to þese gay games. Aud whau þe pnple was most gadered euery man þat was sengil chase him a make of þoo maidenes whech wer come oute

[1] In the Latin text of the *Polychronicon* we find: 'Igitur regnante Romulo, Remus frater Romuli a Fabio duce Romuli rastro pastorali occisus est. *Eutropius*' (10). 'Nescio an fratris voluntate id actum sit; cuius causa interitus haec fuit, quod ut tutelam novae nrbis vallum non posse snfficere Remns iucrepaverit. In cuins rei argumentum ipse vallum saltu transiliit. *Titus Livius* (1).'* The Trevisa translation is as follows: 'Yanne while Romulus regnede his ledere Fabius slowȝ Remus [Romulus] his broþer wiþ a herdes rake. *Martinus.* I noot ȝif þat was idoo by his broþir wil. Þe cause of his deth was þis: Romus seide þat as engle wal was nouȝt strengþe ynow for þe newe citee, and for to make þat good he lepe ouer þe wal at oo leepe. [*Titus*].' The Harleian MS. 2261 has only: 'Romulus reignenge, Remus his brother was sleyne of Affabius a duke of Romnlus. *Titus Livius*' (R. Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. iii, p. 54).

[2] This passage is interesting as showing the different methods of cnltivation in use at this period in Italy and in England. It would seem that, in Italy, the earth was worked with two-pronged forks, whereas spade cultivation was more in vogue in our couutry. But the forks appear from the text to have served the purpose of a harrow or rake; as the author, in trnth, calls them.

* '(10) *Eutropius*] om. C. D. The circumstance is not mentioned in Eutropius. (1) *Titus Accius* C. D. A. omits reference.'

of þe cuntr̄ but moost specialy of þat nacioun whech wer̄ called sabynes. And þere be gan a grete bataile be twix þe romaynes and sabynes and lested many dayes on to þe tyme þat þei wer̄ þus acordid þat euery child þat is born of both blodes schuld haue to names on in worchip of þe fadyr an othir in worchip of þe moder̄. Thus grew rome in grete nowmbir and in grete worchip for romulus chase owt an hundred of þe eldest men & called hem senatoures a senectute whech is for to sey age menyng her by þat elde men and weel wered of louge experiens schuld haue gouernaunce ouir þe puple. Eke he chase owt of þe puple of þe moust strenghest & likly men and ech of hem called was miles þat is to sey in ow̄r langage a knyth. For mille is a þousand and a þousand of þese chase he first þat soo of þis noumbir be gan þis name. Whan he had regned þus not many ȝeres he held a bataile in a marys of campanie and sodeynly a grete tempest and grete þundir rysyng to / gidir sodeynly bare him a wey þat no man wist wher̄ he be cam and f. 357 v
þann̄ þe puple annowbred him a mongis her̄ goddis and called him god qwyryn for þis cause for qwyryn in þe sabynes tonge is called a schaft and he rood neuyr with oute a spere yerfor þei approrid to him þat name. And in worchip of him for þe moost part of þe romaynes at þese dayes if þei goo on fote þei walk with speres. A nothir cause of þis name is assigned be writeris þat aftir his deth þei picchid his schaft in þe mount aduentyn and it grew on to a tree yerfor wold þei calle him þe god qwyrynaħ.

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## Of þe ȝatis wallis and towris cap̄. ii.

Now of þe ȝatis of rome wallis and towris schal be our̄ tretyng folowyng euyr þe steppis of our̄ elde. ȝatis be þere in rome xii be side þe cite leonyne wher̄ seint petir cherch stant whech cite hath iii ȝates and eke þe cite transtiber̄ wher̄ seynt cecile and seynt pancras and seynt grisogonus lyn whech hath alsoo oþir iii. As for þe wallis ȝe schal undirstand þat þei stand at þis day sumwhat appeyred of age as no wonder is but ȝet are þei strong and hy for þe most part as touris be in inglond of þe townes þat stand þere. Who many myle þei conteyne I can not seyn but be gessyng for I fynde writyn þat if a man go a boute þe wallis and þe watir he schuld goo xxii myle and I hald not þe watir fro þe tour̄ by seynt poules ȝate on to þe toure þat[1] be þe ȝate whech is called porta flaminea not mech mor̄ þan ui myle. So as be myn estimacioun fro seyn poules ȝate þat stant in þe south on to porta flaminea þat stant in þe north þe waħ conteynyth in length up on xui myle.[2] As touching þe toures þe elde writeris sey þat þere

[1] 'stant' in margin of MS.

[2] For the discrepancy in the length of the walls of Rome, cf. Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, p. 6, n. 11; Urlichs, *Codex Topographicus*, p. 92.

be iii hundred sexti and on whech is likly I now to be soth for þei stand rith ny to gidir. ¶. Now of þe ȝatis we wil beginne at þat ȝate þat ledeth to seynt paules whech stant on þe south side of rome it is cleped in elde bokis porta capena[1] whech soundith in our langage þe takyng ȝate for þat wey þat goth be þat ȝate is clepid uia hostiensis for it goth to a cyte þat hith hostie whech stant in swech a place wher tibur rennyth in to þe see and so soundith þe name in latyn for hostium is a dor and þat is called soo as þe dore of tibur. On þe rith hand of þis ȝate stant a grete sware hiłł ny ioyned on to þe wal mad al of fre ston grete be nethin and smal a bouyn hier pann ony tour in whech remus is byried as þei sey þere. This porta capena is sumtyme in elde bookis called porta campania whepir it is errour of writeris or nowt I leue it as now. Be þis ȝate was seynt paule led whan he schuld be ded. Be þis ȝate cam seynt syluester hom whan he had
f. 358 r dedicate paules cherch so late þat he / was constreyned to prey god of endewryng of þe sunne and as it[2] seid þe sunne seruyd him tyl he came at seynt petres cherch & be þat tyme it was mydnyth. This dedicacioun was in halowmesse monthe sumwhat aftyr seynt martyn day. ¶. Next þis ȝate stant þat ȝate þat is called porta appia[3] þis wey goth first on to a litil cherch whech is cleped sca maria de palma and þan to a crosse me calle domine quo uadis feryermor on to þat holy place whech is dedicate on to þe name of seynt sebastian wher is kalixti cymyteri and eke catacumbas of whech places whe speke now but litil for aftir in our book we will speke of hem mor largely. Fast by þis ȝate was seynt sixte heded for þe name of oure lord ihū as we fynde in cronicles whech sixte was pope of rome and maystir on to seynt laurens. The cause whi it is clepid porta appia for a grete lord of rome whech hith appius claudius mad it. ¶. Porta latina is alsoo a grete ȝate of rome and is clepid latina for þat wey goth on to þat lond þat was called þe latyn lond þer be gan first þe latyn tunge with labour and study of latyn kyng of þat lond and of karmentis his modir. Fast by þis

[1] The gate of San Paolo was known as the 'porta capena' in the Middle Ages. On referring to Plate No. I (of the thirteenth century) published in De Rossi's *Piante iconografiche di Roma*, it will be observed that the gate is marked 'porta capena'. In Plate III the same thing is found; but in Plate IV the Porta Appia is called the Porta Capena for the first time. In Plate II the Porta Appia is marked Porta Dazza. 'Porta chapua la quale se chiama la porta de sancto paulo' (*Edifichazion di molti palazzi*, Venice, 1480, p. B iii). 'Prope portam capenam, quae vocatur porta sancti Pauli iuxta murum urbis, inter portam predictam et montem testarum, sepultus est Remus, frater Romuli' (Mirabilia, *Cod. Cott.*). For list of references as to this gate bearing the name of Porta Capena see Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana, Via Ostiense e Laurentina*, 1897, p. 10, published by the Società Romana di Storia Patria. It appears to have been known under that name until the fifteenth century.

[2] (?) is.

[3] Cf. Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana nel Medio Evo*, vol. i, pp. 37 sqq. (Rome, 1884).

ȝate stant a litiłł chapełł in whech seynt jon þe euangeliste was put in a tunne of brennyng oyle and be myracle had no harm. The manerꝰ of þis martirdam is declared in cronicles on þis wyse nerꝰ.[1] He was in ephese and preched þere bysily þe feith of ourꝰ lord ihū. Than þe proconsul of þe cite defended him his preching. He answerd þat it was better for to obeye to god þan to man. And þan was jon sent to rome with a lettir to domiciane in whech he was called a wycch ful of sacrilege and a louerꝰ of him þat was do on þe crosse. So be comaundment of domiciane he was put in þe tunne and whann þe emperourꝰ say þat he was so meruelously delyueryd he had youtȝ for to a saued him but for þe grete hate whech he had to crist he sent him in to pathmos to be exiled þere. ¶. Eke þere is a ȝate whech summe clepe metronia & summe triconia. This ȝate is not now used but sperd up for þorw þat tourꝰ entreth a fresch watir in to þe cite whech rennyth þorw þe nunnes place þat dwełł at seynt syxtes and it appereth a geyn in a deep hole fast by seynt georges and þanꝰ undir þe ground morꝰ þan too myle for it rennyth in to tybyr with a grete[2] at a wełł þat stant ny sc̄a maria de pplo.[3] Metronia is as mech to sey as mesuryng and triconia soundith in ourꝰ tunge dressing of herꝰ in to iii partes. Be cause women waschen at þis ȝate customhabily both exposiciones of gramar may be applied to þat place first mesurꝰ of herꝰ camisees whech þei boyle þere and dressing of heerꝰ whech þei wasch þerꝰ. ¶. Now folowith þe ȝate þat þei clepe laterane or ellis asinari. Laterane is it cleped for it stant be þe pa/leys lateranensis and whi þat paleys is called f. 358 v
soo auctores seyn for latus lateris is a side and be cause þat place stant on þe o side of rome and closith in þe cite þerfor þe calle it soo. Othir men sey þat it was clepid laterane of þe frosch þat was in nero wombe whech frosch at his comaundment was byried þerꝰ for lateo is for to hide & rana is a frosch in latyn tunge whech soundith hidyng of þe frosch.[4] Herꝰ may ȝe knowe

[1] 'nerꝰ' begins a line; 'wise' ends the preceding one. Probably the author thought he had written 'in this man-ner'. The 'ner' is redundant.

[2] 'streem' in margin of MS.

[3] This stream, now called the Mariana or Marrana, is fully described by Adinolfi. Our chronicler is mistaken in supposing that it fell into the Tiber near S. Maria del Popolo. He should have said S. Maria in Cosmedin. It is mentioned by Cicero, and was formerly called the Aqua Crabra or Dannata (Adinolfi, vol. i, p. 156).

[4] The derivation of the word Lateran from lateo-rana seems to have been universal in the Middle Ages. Giacomo di Voragine, in *De sancto Petro Apostolo*, c. lxxxix, tells the same story, concluding thus: 'Unde et pars illa civitatis ut aliqui dicunt, ubi rana latuerat, Lateranenis nomen accepit.' Enenkel (*Weltbuch*) says: 'Nerone chiama a se settanta due medici, e fa intendere loro il suo desiderio. Questi da prima si scusano, ma, minacciati di morte, e rinchiusi in un carcere, ricorrono all' espediente del beveraggio e della rana, poi, liberati e largamente premiati, se ne fuggono. La gravidanza facendosi assai tormentosa, Nerone chiama altri medici, e con l'ajuto dell' arte loro vomita il mal concepito figluolo, al quale tosto provvede una nutrice perchè lo allevei, e dà per compagni i figluoli di tutti i principi che si trovano in Roma. Celebra poscia una festa solenne, a cui

weel þat of ful lewid dedis of men risen in þis world ful famous places for of þe fame of þis place schal be mad ful gret declaracioun aftirward in our secund book. This ȝate is called alsoo asinari for þe multitude of asses þat come in ȝet at þese dayes with dyuerse birdenes.[1] ¶. Now next aftir þis ȝate stant a ful solempne ȝate whech þei calle þe grettest and eke þei name him þerto porta lauicana be þis ȝate passe þe pilgrimes whan þei goo to seint laurens extra muros. And wheythir it is clepid laui with a u or lani with a n it is dowt to summe men for lanicana with a n soundith þe ȝate of wollis and lauicana with a u soundith þe ȝate of wasching. I leue all þis in þe disposicioun of þe rederes. I wene ueryly þat þe weye þat goth be þis ȝate is called uia ardeatina.[2] ¶. Next þann is a nothir ȝate whech þei call porta sci laurentii it is clepid so for whan men haue be on pilgrimage at seint laurence þei come hom a geyn to rome be þis ȝate. But in elde tyme it was called porta taurina þe bullis ȝate or ellis porta tiburtina þe ȝate þat ledeth to þe cite whech hitith tiburtine þat stant xii myle fro rome and ȝet þe romaynes haue it in subiecciou in token wherof þe keyis of þat cyte hauge with in roue [3] at a gate fast be þe cherch of uiti

intervengono settanta due re, e fa girare per Roma la nutrice e la rana in un carro di argento con le ruote d'oro, tempestato di gemme, adorno di un magnifico baldacchino, e tirato da un cervo domesticato. Nel passare un ponte, la rana salta nell' acqua e sparisce. Nerone, furibondo, fa mettere a morte la balia e quindici giovanotti, figli di principi. Allora i padri si ribellano, segue una gran battaglia, e Nerone, vinto, si fa uccidere da uno de' suoi capitani. I principi vincitori edificano il Laterano' (Graf, *Roma nella memoria*, &c., vol. i, pp. 338 sqq.). See also *Edifichazion di molti palazzi*, Venice, 1480, p. B iii. 'Hanc tamen ranam Nero fecit in turri quadam custodiri usque ad obitum suum, unde putant quidam locum illum a rana ibi latente lateranam appellari' (R. Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. iv, p. 396).

[1] For the Porta Asinaria (S. Giovanni), and the derivation of the name, see Ashby, *Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna*—III (*The Via Latina*).—*Section* I. Papers of the British School at Rome, vol. iv, p. 42.

[2] Here our author makes a mistake in his topography, as the Via Ardeatina of course did not start from the Porta Maggiore.

[3] 'Das ist peym thor darunter' (S. Vito e Modesto) 'die schlüssel von der Tyber pruck hangen, die von Tiberi die tur nicht hinein geen Rom geen den' (als) 'durch dasselb thor.' This passage is from the chronicle of Niklaus Muffel (p. 54), who was a man of good family and fortune, a citizen of Nürnberg, of which place he was town-councillor at the age of twenty-two. He was sent to Rome on the occasion of Frederick III's coronation; and on p. 5 of his book he says: 'und die kronung des keysers geschach am Suntag Letare in der vasten anno 1452 iar.' His visit to Rome coincided almost exactly with that of our chronicler; and as he will be quoted frequently, it will be sufficient to note his name, and the page of his work, which appeared in the proceedings of the *Litterarischer Verein, Stuttgart*, cxxviii—1875-6, *herausgegeben von Wilhelm Vogt*. Adinolfi says in one passage: 'Dal mezzo della curvatura dell' arco intitolato da M. Aurelio Vittore a Gallieno e Salonina, ossia dalla chiave, fino agli ultimi tempi pendea appiccata una catena colle chiavi che Giuliano Giamberti, architetto, in numero di quattro figurò ne' suoi disegni, tolte da' Romani ai Viterbesi in un combattimento che ebbero con cotestoro, dalla porta di Viterbo detta della Salciccia' (Adinolfi, vol. ii, p. 229).

and modesti be a chene of yrun.[1] ¶. The nexte ȝate folowyng as summe sey is porta salaria but seynt anneis legend calleth it porta numentana and so þe nexte in to þe north side is salaria þis hold I þe trewer party. Be þis ȝate go men to seynt anneis cherch[2] and to seynt constaunce and whi þei calle it numentana auctores say for þat wey goth on to a cuntr̃ whech is called soo in whech cuntr̃ wer̃ many worthi werriouris and continued in many batailes a geyn þe romaynes as men may rede in þe book de gestis romanorum. ¶. Than folowith þe ȝate whech þei calle salaria be þat wey go men to a cyte of þe same name. For as lucane þe poete seith in his secund book this cite berith his name of þe grete plente of salt þat þei fynde in the mountis. And þat þis is soth pilgrimes may knowe weel be þe pokes of salt þat hors and asses ber̃ specialy if men go be þat wey to rome þere peruse stant.[3] ¶. A nothir ȝate þere is þat is cleped pinciana and took his name of þat hiłł þat goth from scā[4] de pplo on to þe same ȝate. Men sey at rome þat þere dwelt a tyraunt sumtyme whech hith pincis of whom þis hiłł took his name. At
þis day are ȝet / uoūtes in þe hiłł many and walles eke for mech of þe hiłł f. 359 r
longith on to þe frer̃ austenes þat dwełł at scā maria de pplo. Summe sey þat it was on of nero paleys and both may be soth. Fast by þis ȝate a boue þe hiłł stood a cherch of seynt felice þe martir but now it is falle down þe most part as many othir be.[5] Anothir ȝate is þere fast be scā

[1] S. Vito e Modesto is a very ancient church, erected in the fourth century near the arch of Gallienus on the Esquiline, and restored by Stephen III. It was abandoned for centuries, restored by Sixtus IV in 1477, and again fell into a ruinous state. It was finally rebuilt by Federico Colonna, duke of Palliano, in 1620, in gratitude for his recovery from the bite of a mad dog. It had the title of a cardinal, instituted by S. Gregory, and in the ninth century was known hy the name 'in macello', from the macellum Liviae, near which it stood. It should not be confused with S. Vito 'ad lunam', which was an oratory, dedicated to S. Vito, near the monastery which Pope Hilary built in the place known as 'ad lunam'. This was prohably on the Aventine, not far from S. Prisca, where there was an ancient temple to the goddess Luna, mentioned hy Ovid in the *Fasti* (Adinolfi, vol. ii, p. 225; Armellini, p. 656; Nibby, *Roma nell' anno 1838*, Rome, 1839, vol. i, p. 760).

[2] The church of S. Agnes is helieved to have been founded by Constantine in 324. It was enlarged by Symmachus (498–514), rebuilt by Honorius I (625–40), altered and restored in the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. The church of S. Costanza was also built hy Constantine, over his daughter's tomb (Marucchi, p. 468; Armellini, p. 672; Nibby, p. 43).

[3] This derivation of the word 'Salaria' is a curious reversal of fact, as salt was prepared hy evaporation in salt-pans hy the seaside, and carried inland for trading purposes; whereas the author describes it as being found in the mountains, and brought into Rome.

[4] 'maria' in margin of MS.

[5] S. Felix in pincis was on the Pincian hill, as the name denotes. It was an important Basilica; it is shown in Bufalini's plan of Rome. It stood near the Villa Medici; S. Gregory preached one of his homilies in it. Hadrian I and Benedict III enriched the church, but it was allowed to fall into ruin (Armellini, p. 237). It is also marked in Antonio van den Wyngaerde's panorama, *circa* 1560 (Lanciani, *Bollettino Communale di Archeologia*, 1895, p. 81).

m̃ de pplo þat stant evene in to þe north and þe wey to peruse and to uenyce lith þere ouyr a grete brigg̃ of ston a long myle fro þe ȝate whech brigg̃ þei calle pons miluius. The ȝate is clepid porta flaminea for þis cause for it is open to a prouynce of þat same name. Geruase in his book de ociis imperialibus rehersith xuiii prouinces þat longe to ytaile of whech þis flaminea is put in þe xi place. ¶. The last ȝate of alle is called porta colina ul colatina whech stant at þe briggis foot under þe castell̃ aungell̃ whech castell̃ was sumtyme clepid templum adriani.[1] ¶. In transtiber̃ ar̃ þer̃ iii ȝates and in þe cite leonyne oþir iii whos names I coude not esely lerne but on of hem hith portuensis and þat is in þe wall̃ þat goth fro þe popes paleis on to þe castell̃ aungell̃. Anothir hith aurelia and þat is a boute seynt pancras as I suppose in transtiber̃.[2]

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## Off dyuerse briggis in rome. cap̃ iii.

Of þe dyuers briggis in rome schul we make but schort processe for it is a mater̃ of no grete charge. The first brigg̃ is pons miluius of whech I spak be fore whech stant more þan a myle fro þe north ȝate of rome and þere goo men ouyr tibur̃ þat schul to peruse goo or ellis to uenyce. It had summe tyme grete touris and mech housyng a boute it as þe name of it soundith ȝet, for miluius is as mech to say as a þousand and be cause þe romanes wold not ber̃ enmyes schuld entr̃ with inne her̃ wateris yerfor had þei þer̃ as it is seyd a þousand assigned to kepyng of þis brigg̃. ¶. The secunde is pon̄t adriane for it stand undir adrianes temple now is þat temple cleped castell̃ aungell̃ for þe grete miracle þat was do þere in seynt gregory tyme of whech place we schul speke mor̃ largely aftirward. This brigg̃ is þe comoun weye out of rome on to seynt petres. ¶. The thirde brigg̃ is called neroniane I hope it be falle down for we may ȝet se þe steppes of him and many moo þat stood sumtyme and now are falle. It was cleped neroniane for nero mad it. Thow he was cursyd in lyuyng ȝet was he as þei write a grete bylder. ¶. The iiii is called pon̄t antonine for þat lord mad it and many other þingis

[1] Our author appears to have fallen into an error here, as he is confusing the Porta Collatina with the Porta Collina, which latter was near the Castel S. Angelo. Its position is mentioned in the Ordo Romanus. It appears to have closed the bridge, opposite the Castel S. Angelo, from the Leonine city (Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, p. 168, n. 392). Adinolfi calls this gate the Porta di S. Pietro in Adriano, and adds: 'Fù appellata eziandio Porta Collina senza aver riguardo a questi edifizi' (S. Peter's and the Vatican), 'ma solo ai colli Vaticani. Fù una delle due porte Aurelie, secondo quel che disse Procopio, e dall' essere di bronzo corrottamente veniva chiamata dello Brunoso, cioè bruonso' (Adinolfi, vol. i, p. 133). 'Porta cholina apresso dil castello dandriano' (*Edifichazion di molti palazzi*, &c., Venice, 1480, p. B iii).

[2] The gate of S. Pancrazio was also called the Porta Aurea (Adinolfi, vol. i, p. 138).

in rome as we schal trete of aftirward. ¶. The fifte is poũt fabrice for ou fabricius mad it a man eke of grete fame. ¶. The sixte is poũt graciane for þat holy cristen emperouȓ mad it. This man was so good and so propicius to þe cherch þat seynt ambrose bischop of melan wrote on to him a grete book of þe feith of ouȓ lord ihũ whech is now / ful straunge for to fynde. f. 359 v
¶. The uii was cleped þe senatouris brigg for be cause þei made it. ¶. The uiii was alł of marbiłł theodosius þe emperouȓ made it & of him it baȓ þe name. ¶. The ix mad ualentiniane þe emperouȓ & eke it baȓ his name. ¶. But ȝe schul undirstaud þat of alł þese briggis stand now but u, as fer forth as I could aspie and eke þei be not ful longe as othir citees haue for þei passe not fouȓ or u arches þe watir is dep but not rith brood.[1]

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## Of þe dyuers hillis in rome. capᵗ iiii.

Seuene famouse hillis weȓ sumtyme rehersid of rome & þe names of hem haue be so ofte chaunged þat it is ful hard for to write þe treuth of hem. ¶. Mons ianiculus is þe first and on þe foot of þat hiłł stant seint petir cherch and þe popes paleys. Of þis hiłł þus writith dominicus de arecio in his book de montibus.[2] Janicle he seith is on of þe uii hillis of rome so named of jane þat dwelt þeȓ whom þe romanes aftir he was ded receyued for a god & þat in saturnus tyme. Of whom ouyde in his bok de fastis rehersith certeyn wordis þat janus schuld haue seid whann his auteȓ was mad. Ara mea est collis quem uulgus uomine nostro nuncupat hec etas ianiclum q3 vocat.[3] This is to say in ouȓ tunge. This is myn auter of þat hiłł whech þe puple be my name calleth ianicle in þis age. This hiłł was ioyned on to rome and wallid in þertoo whanñ anthus marcius medulienseis had ouyr come þe kingdam of þe latyn tunge and brout alł þe puple on to rome for þer he mad hem dwełł. ¶. Mons palantinus is þat hiłł as I suppose on whech þe grete paleys stood on þe est side stant seynt gregory monastery and on the west side staut þe cherch of seynt anastase on þe south side gardeynes þat weȓ sumtyme alł marys and watir. This reherse I for to acorde with auctores whech speke of þis hiłł. For of it þus writith dominicus de arecio. Palantine he seith is on of þe uii hiłł of rome up ou whech hiłł remus and romulus bygunne her first bildyng. But of þe uame of þis hiłł is dyuers writing a mongis þese auctores. Uarro seith in his u bok þat

[1] For early accounts of the bridges of Rome cf. Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, p. 24; Urlichs, *Codex Topographicus*, pp. 95, 118, 128, 158.

[2] Dominicus of Arezzo, otherwise known as Bandino, was an Italian poet who died in the year 1348.

[3] Ovid, *Fast.*, lib. i, ll. 245–6. The first line is not quoted quite correctly.

certeyn men cleped palantes whech come fro a cuntr̃ þei calle it reatyne came þedir with euander bat oute þe dwelleres þat were þer̃ and named þe hiłł aftir hem. Solin*us* de mirabilib*us* mu*n*di seith þat it was named of certeyn men þ*t* come fro Archadye and mad her̃ dwellyng þere. And su*m*me othir sey þat euander had a son whech hith palante and he inhabite þis hiłł and ȝaue it his name. Of þe paleys þ*t* stood up on þis hiłł schul we speke in þe next chapetr̃ folowyng. ¶. Mons auentin*us* is eke on of þese hiłł of
f. 360 r rome / of whech uarro writith þus. Mou*n*t auentine for su*m*me cause men sey was þus named. On neui*us* þat stood þer̃ sey certeyn birdis þat come out of tybir and litid up on hym. Uirgil speketh of þis story in þe uiii book eneydos wher̃ he seith duar*um* nidus domus oportuna uoluc*r*es. The sentens of þe poete is þat to nestis of birdis litid on þis man on þe same hiłł whech hiłł he seith is ful able to birdis.[1] Su*m*me othir sey þat it is called auentyne of new comeres or dwelleris þer̃to for so sou*n*dith þe latyn tunge whech dwelleris mad þer̃ a temple to diane. Therfor̃ seith uarro þat it was called so ab aduen*t*u þat is to sey of newe comy*n*g of men þer̃too. Su*m*tyme fro þat hiłł to rome folk wer̃ feried with botis now is it londid. Titus liui*us* seith þat it was called soo of a kyng of albany whech had þe same name þere smet ded with þundir. Of þis story makith ouyde mencio*u*n in his iiii book de fastis. Uenit auentin*us* post hos locus unde uocatu*r* Mons quoqȝ &c*ra*.[2] That is to sey in englisch. Auentine cam thidir with his hoost aftir whom þe place is named and eke þe mou*n*t. Eke in þe iiii book methamorphoseos þus spekith he of þis mater̃. Tradidit auentino qui quo regnaret eodem Monte jacet positus tribuitqȝ uocabula mo*n*te.[3] This same auentine he seith dwelt in þe foreseid hiłł aud aftir his birying ȝaue his name to þat hiłł. This hiłł was annexid on to rome be a worthi conqwerour̃ called anthus marci*us*. In þis hiłł stant þe paleys of enfermiane and a cherch of seynt sabyn of whech we wil speke of aftirward. This hiłł eke is cleped qwirinałł[4] for whan romulus was ded þei picchid his schaft þere and it grew of whech mater̃ we spoke be fore & eke whi he is called qwyrin*us* in þe first chapetr̃. ¶. Mons canalis hangith on þe south side of þis same hiłł and it is called soo as I suppose for it is fro þat pleyn be for̃ seynt poules ȝate lowe lich a gutter̃ in his ascense and on þis hiłł stant a cherch of seynt

[1] This may refer to Cn. Naevius, the poet, whose works have almost entirely disappeared, but who would seem to have been much appreciated by his contemporaries and his successors. Ennius and Vergil copied him ; Plautus, Terence, Cicero, and Horace admired him, and praise him.

[2] Ovid, *Fast.*, lib. iv, ll. 51–2.

[3] Ovid, *Metam.*, lib. xiv, ll. 620–1. The first word should be 'Tradit' not 'Tradidit'.

[4] Of course our author is mistaken here. The same hill was never called by both the names Aventine and Quirinal.

boneface þe martyr in whech lith eke seynt alexe þe counfessour.[1] Up on þe side of þis hill stant a piler of marbill with a hole for to receyue a schaft whech schaft hath a cloth of silk wounde a boute it and who can ride best and sonnest touch þis schaft he schal haue þis cloth. Thus be þer iii clothis set up and woune on fasting gong sunday euery 3ere. And her cours of her ridyng be gynnyth at þe hill whech is clepid omnis terra and endith in þis same hill. ¶. Mons Capitolinus stant ny in þe myddis of rome. Uarro seith þat it is clepid soo for whan þei diggid þe ground for to make þere a temple on to iubiter þei founde a mannis hed al hool and þis caused þe hillis name for caput is a heed and soo of caput was þe hill called capitoline. Be for þat 3et in elder tyme þe hill was clepid tarpeye of a mayden þat had þe same name whech was þere byryid and slayn. 3et be for þat tyme was it clepid mons saturnius for þere stood a litil town called saturnia as / uirgill f. 360v seith in þe uiii book eneydos. Aud be cause þere schal be a special chapetr of þis place in our book folowyng þerfor as now we speke no mor of him. ¶. Mons Celius is eke on of þe seuene so named as uarro seith in his u book of on celienne keper of þat hill whech man was with him Romulus a grete

[1] It is difficult to understand this passage, when it is compared with the previous one, which refers to the church of S. Sabina. As a rule, our author is very accurate in his topography, hut here he would seem to have fallen into an error. The present church of S. Alexis was, in ancient times, dedicated to S. Boniface; it was prohably founded in the fourth century. It was built in the palace of Eufermianus (father of S. Alexis) on the Aventine, and in the tenth century a Greco-Latin monastery was attached thereto; it was then dedicated to the two saints. In time the name of S. Boniface dropped out, and the title, which at first was named after that saint, now hears the name of S. Alexis only. Possihly there may originally have heen two separate churches, which were united in the tenth century, but it is quite certain that the church of S. Boniface (or S. Alexis), the palace of Eufermian, and the church of S. Sahina were all close together on the Aventine. It is difficult to say what hill our author may mean by *mons canalis*. He may be thinking of the hill generally known as the Pseudo-Aventine, on which the church of S. Saha stands. On the other hand, he may mean the spur running down from the Collegio of S. Anselmo towards the Porta S. Paolo, and along which the Via del Priorato descends to the plain. On referring to De Rossi's *Piante iconografiche di Roma*, it is curious to find that although S. Alexis and S. Sahina are shown in their correct relative positions in Plate No. IV, in a later Plate (the large one in sections at the end of the work) S. Sabina is shown furthest to the east, and S. Alexis near to S. Saha (Plates VIII and IX). The following occurs in a MS. in the Bodleian Lihrary:—

'Montes infra urhem sunt isti.
Ianiculus qui dicitur ianuarius ad S. Salavam.
Mons cavalleus ad S. Alexium.
Mons S. Stephani in celio monte.
Mons capitolii.
Mons in palatio maiori.
Mons sanctae Mariae maioris.
Mons rivealis ubi Virgilius captus fuit
a Romanis et invisihiliter ivit Neopolym.
[M^y. Mons Testarum]'

(*MS. Bodl. Laud. Mist. 203*, fol. 147 r, sec. xiv).

helper a geyn þe kyng of þe latyn tunge in alł his batayles. And þis hiłł was annexid to þe cyte whech tyme tullius hostilius ouyr cam in batayle þe puple of a regioun called albanorum whech puple he translate on to þe cyte. This hiłł eke baꝛ a grete name for þat same tullius hostilius dwelt þerin and eke it was moꝛ noysed for þe gloriouse poete ennius dwelt in þat same place. Of þe temple þat stood þerupon and who it is dedicate to seynt steuene we schul trete in þe secund book whech schal be of spiritual þingis. ¶. Mons superaggius is þat hiłł on whech stant sc̄a maria maior whech edificacioun was mad be a grete miracle of snow as it schal be declared in þe secund book. Be side þese hillis aꝛ many othir as þe hiłł in whech titus and uespasianus lyn, and þe hiłł whe̅ þe cherch of seynt balbyn stant, and þe hiłł of quatuor coronatorum fast bc laterane, and þe hiłł þat is clepid omnis terra fast by seynt poules ȝate, and þe hiłł eke þat is be twix þe housyng of rome & sc̄a maria de pplo whose names for erroun of writeres I can not discerne. For þei write þat þere schuld be a hiłł in whech þe romanes wold a slayn uirgiłł and fro þat hiłł he went inuysible to naples summe men calle þis hiłł iuuenalis & summe riualis.[1]

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## Of þe multitude of paleysis in rome cap̄ u.

Now of þe paleysis þat be in rome we wil schortly trete. And first of þe grete paleys þus writith an auctor. The grete paleys stood in þe myddis of þe cite in tokne þat þei weꝛ lordes of alł þe world and it was mad in forme of a crosse in fouꝛ frontes in whech frontes weꝛ a hundred ȝates on eche side euery ȝate of brasse. In tokne þat þere weꝛ so many brasen ȝatis a man may ȝet se in cherchis many yerof alł hole, for a grete part of hem are ȝotyn in to othir uses as men may se. For þe body of seynt petir church is cured[2] with metalł. This paleis was as I suppose a myle a boute and ȝet stand þere many wallis dyuers arches & maruelous uontes. Theꝛ is a seleꝛ þat longid to þat paleis as þei sey a uout undir þe ground whech hath iiii deambulatories & euery deambulatory hath xui arches euery arch is xui fete fro pileꝛ to peleꝛ eke euery pileꝛ is iiii fete sware and þis was a seleꝛ for wyn. A noþir seleꝛ sey I þeꝛ þat stant of seuene longe paues and sex walles be twix þe paues sum walł hat u dores, sum ui, sum uii, so disposed þat o man may se xiiii or xu dores at ones if ony man go owt or in.[3] ¶. A paleys þeꝛ is eke whech is called þe paleys of romulus I can not

[1] For early accounts of the hills of Rome cf. Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, pp. 16–17; Urlichs, *Codex Topographicus*, pp. 93, 128, 144, 156. Note 32 on p. 17 of Nichols's work is particularly interesting, in regard to the above legend concerning Vergil.

[2] Covered. [3] This is a very good description of the *Sette Sale*, and leads one to believe that the author was thinking of them when he penned this passage.

gesse oþir but / it is templum pacis for both of þis and eke of þe capitoll f. 361 r
fynde I writin þat þei schuld stand on to þe tyme þat a mayde bor a child
and on þat nyth whech our lord was bore it is seide of bothe þat a grete part
of hem fell down. But 3et at þese dayes þat temple þat was cleped templum
pacis fallith be pecis 3erely in þe fest of þe natiuite of our lord crist. ¶. Þe
paleys lateranensis is sumtyme clepid nero paleys sumtyme constantine
paleis in þese elde descripciones of rome. And þis is þe cause as I suppose.
Nero berith þe name of it for he bilid a grete part þerof. Constantine eke
berith þe name of it for he 3aue it in to þe cherchis possessionn. Nero had
an othir paleys fast be þe cherch of marcelline and petir, eke an othir be
twix þe hospitall of þe holy goost and seynt petir cherch, eke an othir be þe
place whech þei calle sca maria de pplo wher he killid him selue. A bouen
on þe hill of whech paleys are sene 3ete mauy uoutis and cloysteris undir þe
erde summe as hole as euyr wer þei. | The paleys of traiane I wot not uerily
wher it standith. | Adrianes paleys þei sey is þe castell aungell summe sey
it is a noþir place be whech stant a columpne in altitude xx passe. | The
paleys of him claudius stant fast by pantheon all in ruyne. | The paleys of
julius cesar was fast by þe grete stoon on whech his bones ly. | The paleys
of eufemyane fader to seynt alexe was in þe hill auentyne wher stant now
a fayr cherch of seynt sabine and a place of frer prechoures. | The paleys of
hem called titus & uespasianus stant with oute rome as men goo on to
cathacumbas. ¶. The paleys of domiciañ was in transtiber. | The paleys
of octonian[1] was fast by þe cherch of seynt syluester. | The paleys called
olympiadis was in þat place whech seynt laurence was rostid called now
laurencii in perliperne.[2] | The paleys of him tullius cicero is but litil fro
þe iewis market mor in to þe est. | This man was prince and principall
of rethoryk fyndyng and teching in þe latyn tunge. | The paleys of uenus[3]
was fast by þat place whech þei clepe scola grecorum & summe sympill men
calle it catonys scole. | The paleys of on called kateline a man of wondirful
witte and maruelous gouernaunce stood in þat place wher now stant a cherch
of seint antoni.[4] These emperoures eke had certeyn places whech þei clepid
theatra and þat soundith in our tunge a place in whech men stand to se
pleyis or wrestilingis or swech oþir exercises of myth or of solace. Summe
of þese places wer called ampheatrum þat was a place all round swech as we
haue her in þis lond, summe wer called theatrum & þat was a place was lich

[1] ? Octauian. [2] panisperna. [3] ? remus.

[4] Some account of the palaces of Rome will be found in Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, p. 19; Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, pp. 93, 115, 128, 157. There is also a reference to the palace of Catiline in Nichols, p. 97, n. 197; being a translation of the *Descriptio plenaria* in Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, p. 109. The mention of Cannapara, in connexion with the temple of Ceres and Tellus, is also interesting. Compare with note 2, p. 22 of this book.

half a sercle of whech þere were uii in rome. On yt titus and uespasianus mad be heꝛ paleys as we goo to catacumbas. The secunde made tarquinius þe kyng fast be þe place clepid septisolium. The iii made pompey fast by þe cherch of seynt laurence in damasco. The iiii made antonie fast by seynt
f. 361 v sixtis. The u made / alisaundre þe emperouꝛ fast by seynt mary rotunde. | The sexte made nero fast by crecensis castell. | The uii was called flamineum fast by porta appia.[1]

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Of þe multitude of arches in rome rered for diuers uictories. cã ui.

Arches in Rome were many rered in worchip of conqwerouris aftyr heꝛ grete conquestis. The arche þat was gilt fast by seynt celsis [2 3] rered in worchip of alisaundꝛ not grete alisaundꝛ kyng of macedony but of on alisaundꝛ emperouꝛ of rome. But ȝe must undirstand þat all þese weꝛ not housed with uoutis but þei called arches alle swech eterne memoriales for þe most part of hem weꝛ sette on arches. The nobilnesse of þis man is expressed in cronicles whech calle him Alexander mammeas for mammea hith his modir. Sche sent aftir origene on to grete alisaundꝛ for to speke with him for þe grete fame of clergy whech was boꝛ of him. And he cam to rome to þis lady conuerted hiꝛ and taute hiꝛ þe feith of ouꝛ lord ihū not longe aftir þei to brout þe same alisaundꝛ on to þe trewe by leue. And sone after he was cristen he went in to perse and þere had a grete conqueste a geyn þe kyng of perse called xerses þerfor reisid þe romanes on to him þis memorial as I suppose, for þei took euyr moꝛ heed at temporall ioyes þan goostly. This same emperouꝛ graunted leue to hem of edissa to fecch þe body of seynt thomas þe apostell in to heꝛ cyte. ¶. An othir arche is þeꝛ be seynt urse [4] which was mad in honouꝛ of iii cristen emperours theodosi

[1] For an account of the theatres, cf. Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, p. 23; Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, pp. 94, 116, 130.

[2] 'was' in margin of MS.

[3] The chronicler is referring to the church of S. Celso e Giuliano, which is a very ancient parish church in the Via dei Banchi, near the Bridge of S. Angelo. In the twelfth century it was one of the most important churches in Rome. Julius II pulled it down partly, in order to increase the width of the street, and reduced it much in size. Under Clement XII it was demolished, and rebuilt in its present form. Even as late as 1625 the parish would appear to have been considered one of the most important in the city (Armellini, p. 184; Nibby, p. 166). The golden arch of Alexander appears to have fallen down in the reign of Urban V (cf. Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, p. 10; Urlichs, *Codex Topog. Anonymus Magliabecchianus*, pp. 153 and 163, which gives the position of S. Ursus as near S. Celsus).

[4] S. Ursus is not mentioned by Armellini; but, according to Jordan, it is said by Martinelli (*R. ex. ethn. Sacra*, pp. 313, 406) to be identical with the Oratorio della Pietà dei Fiorentini (*not* the church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini); and, according to the old church registers, S. Ursus was in the Regio of S. Thomas, west of the Via Papale, whereas S. Celsus was in the Regio of the XII Apostles. See Jordan (Hülsen), vol. i, 3, pp. 598–9, and notes 106–8, edition 1907; also vol. ii, pp. 413–14, edition 1871.

ualentine & graciane. These men ded so many þingis for þe comoun profite þat þe puple of rome lete make þis memoriał for hem. ¶. Eke with outen þe ȝate whech was clepid and ȝet it is porta appia stood sumtyme a temple consecrate to mars god of batayle and fast by þat temple stood an arche was cleped archus *tri*umphalis. ¶. To Titus & uespasianus þei made eke an arche whan̄ þei came from ierlm̄ þis arche stant fast by sc̄a maria le noue. | An arch *ye*re was eke made in worchip of þe emperour̄ and þe senatourcs whech stood fast by seynt laurens in lucina. | An othir was þere rered in worchip of þe emperour̄ octauiane. | Eke an othir þei called antonini. | An othir fast by seynt marc cherch called þe hand of flesch in latyn manus carnea. | Eke on in þe capitole þat was clepid archus panis aurei þat is to sey þe arche of golden brede. | Be side all̄ þese was þer̄ on be seynt marie rotunde whech þei cleped archus pietatis.[1] This was mad as þei say for swech a cause. Ther̄ was an emperour̄ redy in his chare sum sey it was traiane þat rood oute to batayle. Happed a certeyn woman to mete witȝ him, wepte, felle down at his foot and prayed him of mercy. He askid what sche wold and sche sayde. I had a sun and no moo but him and þi sun killid / my son wherfor̄ I charge þe as þou art a trewe juge do me rith f. 362 r in þis mater̄. The emperour̄ answerd on to þe woman þat whech tyme he come hom a geyn fro his iornay he wold se þat rith schuld be had in þe best maner̄. Sche mad obieccion a geyn and seide. If it be soo þat þou dey er þou com hom who schal do me rith þanm̄. That sey the emperour̄ and cam down from his chare examined þe mater̄ and *con*dempned þe man qweller̄ to þe deth. Tho fell̄ sche down and prayed him þat sche myth

[1] See the account of this arch in the *Mirabilia* (*De Mirabilibus*), p. 129: 'Sunt praeterea alii arcus qui non sunt triumphales sed memoriales, ut est arcus Pietatis ante sanctam Mariam Rotundam, ubi cum esset imperator paratus in curru ad eundum extra pugnaturus, quaedam paupercula vidua procidit ante pedes eius, plorans et clamans; domine, antequam vadas mihi facias rationem. Cui cum promisisset in reditu facere plenissimum ius, dixit illa: forsitan morieris prius. imperator hoc considerans praesiliit de curru, ibique posuit consistorium. Mulier inquit: habebam unicum filium, qui interfectus est a quodam iuvene, ad hanc vocem sententiavit imperator: moriatur, inquit, homicida et non vivat. Morietur ergo filius tuus, qui ludens cum filio occidit ipsum. qui cum duceretur ad mortem, mulier ingemuit voce magna: reddatur mihi iste moriturus in loco filii mei, et sic erit mihi recompensatio, alioquin nunquam me fatear plenum ius accepisse, quod et factum est, et ditata nimium ab imperatore recessit.' It will be noticed that Trajan is not mentioned here by name, nor is he in Parthey's *Mirabilia Romae*, pp. 7–8; in other texts the name is given: but, on the other hand, the killer is not the emperor's son. See *Codex Casanatensis* D.V. 13, f. 148: 'Arcus pietatis ante sanctam mariam rotundam, ubi accedit quedam istoria de paupere muliere cuius filius occisus erat a filio vicine sue, que petiit ius sibi fieri ab imperatore Traiano peracto ire ad exercitum, &c.' Jean d'Outremeuse in *Ly myreur des histors*, vol. i, p. 64, says even that the widow married the emperor's son (cf. Graf, *Roma nella memoria*, &c., vol. ii, p. 25, n. 43). See also Comm^re Giacomo Boni's account of this legend in the *Nuova Antologia*, Nov. 1, 1906.

haue his son for hir son. Thus þe emperour graunted hir þat sche desired and þus was trewe jugement had and pite exercised in sauacioun of þis mannis lif wherfor was þis memoriall cleped archus pietatis.[1]

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Who many cymyteries be in rome. cap uii.

Cymiteries in rome are called nowt only swech places as deed men be byried in but swech as holy men dwelt in. This sey I not þat men schuld undirstand þat no man were byryed in hem but to þis entent for to proue þat þei serued of sumwhat ellis. For cimiterium in latyn is not ellis for to sey but tredyng of deed mennis bodies and ȝe must undirstande þat þe cymyteries at rome be grete uoutes and mynes undir þe erde in whech seyntis dwellid sumtyme but now be þei desolate for horrible derknesse and disuse of puple saue only þat cymytery whech is called kalixti. And bc cause þat in þe secund book we schul trete of þe goostly tresour þat is in þis cymyterie þerfor in þis chapetr wil we reherse only þe multitude of hem þouȝ þei be now desolate. | Cimiterium kalepodii is at seynt pancras in transtibir. | Cimiterium agathe is in þe place of þe same title. | Cimiterium ursi in þe same place. | Cimiterium scī felicis in þe same place. | Cimiterium[2] moost famouse fast by catacumbas undir seint sebastianes cherch. | Cimiterium pretaxati is be twix þe ȝate whech is cleped porta appia & seynt appollinar. | Cimiterium concordianum is with outen porta latina. | Cimiterium inter duos lauros is fast by seynt heleyn. | Cimiterium ad ursum pileatum sum bokis sey þat is fast by seynt sabines but I fonde writin in marbill at a crosse fast be seynt julianes[3] þat seynt uiuianes[4] place was sumtyme clepid ad ursum pilleatum.[5] | Cimiterium in agro uerano is at seynt laurens extra muros. | Cimiterium priscille at þe same title. | Cimiterium trasonis fast by

[1] Consult the chapter on triumphal arches in Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, pp. 9–15; and Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, pp. 92–3, 115, 129, 153–6.

[2] '*Kalix*' in margin of MS.

[3] The church of S. Giuliano was in the street leading from the Lateran to S. Mary Major, and was called S. Giuliano agli Trofei di Mario. It was restored by Nicholas V, but fell into ruin afterwards (Adinolfi, vol. i, p. 292).

[4] The church of S. Bibiana was founded about 467 by Pope Simplicius, near the *palatium Licinianum*. It was originally called *Olympina*, after a pious matron, who provided the funds for constructing it. A nunnery was attached to the church, and the name of the street in which it stood was *ursus pileatus*. Honorius III restored it in 1220, and the church was entirely altered by Urban VIII. In ancient times there was a statue of a hatted bear there (Adinolfi, vol. i, p. 281; Armellini, p. 167; Marucchi, p. 344; Nibby, p. 134; Stadler's *Heiligenlexikon*, vol. i, p. 479).

[5] A note in Adinolfi, however, says that some authors ascribe this name to one Ursus Togatus, a freedman of Verus. A statue to him bore an inscription, commencing: 'Ursus togatus qui primus pila lusi decenter cum meis lusoribus,' &c.; which inscription is in the Capitoline Museum (Adinolfi, vol. i, p. 281, n. 3).

seint saturnyn.[1] | Cimiterium scē felicitatis in þe same title. | Cimiterium ponciani fast by cimiterium kalixti. | Cimiterium hermetis & domitile and cimiterium curiaci were in þe weye whech goth to seint poules it is cleped uia hostiensis. But ye moost part of þese be now desolat and onknowen nowt only to pilgrymes / but eke on to hem þat haue be þere aⁿ hēr lyue.[2] f. 362 v

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Of oþir holy places & hēr names be for it was cristen. uiii.

Of oþir holy places spoken of in oure legendis and martilogis wil we trete now for it is grete counfort on to ouʳ deuocioun þat whan we rede of hem we may remembʳ þat we sey hem. Owt at þe ȝate whech is cleped porta appia þere was sumtyme a temple of mars god of bataile and now is þeʳ a fayʳ arche in whech is depeynted aⁿ þe story who ouʳ lord met with petir and seyde on to him þat he wold go to rome to be crucified ageyn and þeʳ he sent petir ageyn to receyue his martirdam whech was in wiⁿ to a fled yerfro. Thus þe temple of þe fals feyned god of batayle is turned on to a memorial of trewe fiteres for ouʳ lord ihū whech wold rather deye þan forsake his feith. | That place þat is now cleped custodia mamortini whēr seynt petir was in prisoun was sumtyme a temple consecrat to jubiter. | That cherch whech is cleped seynt adrianes was sumtyme the temple of refuge þat is to sey who so euyr fled yertoo was saf þere. | The cherche of seynt george was þe temple of concorde. | That place whech is cleped now scā m̃. de penis inferni[3] whēr þe dragon lyuyth ȝet undyr þe ground as þei sey was sumtyme templum ueste. Uesta wis as mech for to seye as a goddesse keper of chastite & uestales weʳ called þoo uirgines

[1] The church of S. Saturninus and the Cymeterium Trasonis were on the Via Salaria. The church was restored hy Hadrian I, rehuilt hy Felix IV, after its destruction by fire, and decorated with pictures hy Gregory IV. It lasted till the time of Nicholas IV (1287–92), hut is not mentioned again after his date. Bosio found remains of it, when exploring the Catacomhs, and traced the staircase connecting the church with them. A modern chapel was erected in the Villa della Porta, and dedicated to S. Saturninus (Armellini, p. 669).

[2] At the time our chronicler wrote hardly anything was known ahout the Catacomhs. Their rediscoverer was Antonio Bosio, who was horn ahout 1576 in Malta. He hegan his life's work in 1593, and devoted thirty-six years to their study. De Rossi very justly calls him (in the Introduction to his great work) the Columhus of underground Rome (*Roma Sotterranea*, p. 26 sq.). De Rossi also mentions the work of the Belgian scholar Philip van Winghen, who lived in Rome for two years. In 1590 he had already discovered the Catacombs of Priscilla, hut he died young. Bosio carried on the work he had begun ; and ultimately, when he puhlished his own book, *Roma Sotterranea*, included in it some maps which had been drawn by Van Winghen (cf. Orhaan, *Sixtine Rome*, London, 1911, p. 276). For early accounts of the Catacomhs see Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, pp. 26–9 ; Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, pp. 95, 118, 130.

[3] At or near the church of S. Maria Antiqua.

þat dwelt þeꝛ. | That place whech is cleped sca maria le noue þat was þe temple of concorde and pite. | Fast by was a place cleped cartularinm in whech place weꝛ here bokes kept of heꝛ lawe. For þei engrosed on to hem aꝉ þe gode customes of þe world þat weꝛ writyn in ony book and þei inacted hem in to heꝛ bokes whech bokes þei named bibliotecis of þoo had þei xxii uolumes. | That cherch cleped seynt petir ad uincula wheꝛ seynt petir cheyne is schewid was sumtyme temple to uenus goddesse of leacherye. | That place wheꝛ seynt paules cherch stant was called in elde tyme ortus lucille. This same woman ȝaue mech possessioun on to þe cherch as men may rede in cronicles. | Fast by septisolinm was a foule pitte of wose and watir in whech seynt sebastian body was cast and he appered on to þis same woman lucille and teld hiꝛ þat sche schuld fynde his body þeꝛ whech he bid schuld be byried in þe cherch fast by catacnmbas and sche fulfillid his commaundment.[1] | Fast by þe capitolie was a hous aꝉ undir þe gronnd whech is cleped in þe legendis of martires in tellure.[2] | The strete þat is cleped laterane goth by seynt praxedis. | That place where seynt laurens was rosted is called sumtyme olimpiades pales as is seid by foꝛ sum tyme it is cleped olimpiades temple. Many oþir places be þeꝛ þus chaunged to þe best of whech we schul speke moꝛ largely in þe secund
f. 363 r book whan we schuꝉ / descryue þe cherchis.[3]

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Of þat place in special yt is called angulla scī petri. ix.[4]

Ther is a pileꝛ fast by seynt petir cherch aꝉ of o ston a grete merueyle for to be hold for as þe elde writeris sey þat had experiens of þe mesuꝛ þe

[1] See n. 2, p. 68.

[2] The position of the place *in tellure*, so often mentioned in this MS., is approximately fixed by the following passage: 'Anche dove se chiama anchoi chanapara fo il tēpio di Cerere & di telure le q̄le dee secōdo la opiniōe de li romāi sono la terra cioe adire el tēpio della terra' (*Edifichazion di molti palazzi*, Venice, 1480, p. A ii v). It must not, however, be confused with the temple of Tellus in the Suburra, *in Carinis* (see n. 69, p. 31, Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, and n. 78, p. 33). 'Item dagegen' (templum Concordiae) 'ist gewesen templum telluris, das ist der got des erttrichs, des man nichtz sicht, nu heist mans zu sand Salvator in Tellumine' (Jordan, ii. 483), 'und fur tellure sprechen sy tellumine. Item mer stet ein edel gepeu noch eins tempels Mercurio ein got der redung oder potschaft den man nun Sand Michel' (Jordan, ii. 487) 'geweicht hat, do man izunt die fisch verkauft' (Muffel, p. 53).

[3] Compare with Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, pp. 29–34; Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, p. 94.

[4] The etymology of the name *anguilla sancti petri* is more or less confused. In the *Mirabilia* the word 'agulia' occurs: 'iuxta quod est memoria Caesaris id est agulia, ubi splendide cinis eius in suo sarcophago requiescit.' In a MS. in the Turin Library the word becomes the name of a piazza, and the tomb of Caesar is described as: 'une pomme d'ereen doree sor un haulte colombe de marbre ou marchiet qu'on dist Julie a Romme' (*Cod. L. II*, 10, f. 106 v). The following forms are found: acus, acucila, agucchia, aguglia

pileꝛ is in heith cc. feet and .u. Up on þis pilere is a grete baꝉ of copir or brasse whech was sumtyme gilt and fretted with *p*r*e*cious stones in whech was julius cesar body put rith for þis cause. For as he was lord a boue alle men þat weꝛ olyue whil he regned heꝛ so schuld his body rest a boue aꝉ bodies þat weꝛ byried be foꝛ him. Wherfoꝛ in þat rou*n*d baꝉ of gold be wrytyn þese uers. Cesar erat tantus qua*n*tus fuit ullus in orbe Se nu*n*c in modico clausit in antro suo Mira sepultura stat cesaris alta colu*m*pna Regia structura qua rite nouercat in aula Aurea concha patet qua cinis ip*s*e latet Si lapis est unus dic qua fuit arte leuatus Et si sint plures dic ubi iu*n*ctura inest.[1] This is þe sentens of þese uers.

(Latinized form aguglia), according to Graf. But in the Middle Ages it was believed that the name was a corruption of Julia, and Gervase of Tilhury calls it Julia Petra (cf. Graf, *Roma nella memoria*, &c., vol. i, p. 288). Ranulf Higden says: 'Hanc autem Pyramidem super quatuor leones fundatam peregrini mendosi acum beati Petri appellant, mentiunturque illum fore mundum a peccatis qui sub saxo illo liherius potuerit repere' (Higden, *Polychronicon*, ed. Bahington, London, 1865, vol. i, p. 226). 'Presso a sancto Pietro dove mo se dice la gulgia dove e una cholona quadra grandissima come una tore, & di sopra & la zenere dil chorpo di zessare' (*Edifichazion di molti palazzi*, Venice, 1480, p. B iv). In De Rossi's *Piante iconografiche di Roma* the ohelisk is shown in Plate No. I, and the term *acus* (=needle) is used to descrihe it. De Rossi says, in the text, that he considers this use of the word to be 'singolare'. In the large plan, at the end of De Rossi's work, it is called 'La Guglia', and it is shown as an obelisk with a ball at the top. It is also shown thus in Plate No. IV.

[1] This inscription varies a good deal in different authors. Ranulf Higden says as follows: 'Pyramis Iulii Caesaris, hahens in altitudine ducentos quinquaginta pedes in cuius summo fuit sphaera aenea cineres et ossa Iulii continens. De quo colosseo quidam Metricus sic ait:

Sic lapis est unus, dic qua fuit arte levatus:
Si lapides plures, dic uhi contigui'

(Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. i, p. 226).

And again:

'Item in columna Iulia quae nunc a peregrinis acus Petri dicitur, uhi pulvis comhusti corporis Iulii ponehatur, sic erat metrice scriptum:

Tantus Caesar eras quantus et orhis.
Sed nunc in modica clauderis urna.'

(Higden, *Polychronicon*, book iii, vol. iv, p. 210).

Thus rendered hy John Trevisa:

'Þou were grete, Cesar, as al þe world is at ene
And art now sette þere i-closed in a litel stene'

Here is another version:

'Mira sepultura stat Caesaris alta columpna,
Regia structura, que rite vocatur Agula,
Aurea concha patet, qua cinis ipse iacet'.

(*Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.* xxii. 67; Gotfredi Viterbiensis, *Speculum Regum*, vv. 837–9).

And another:

'As man dat unden an eyme steyne gehauwen vindt myt desen nae gescreuen versen

Cesar tantus erat quo nullus maior in urhe,
Sed in modico nunc tam magnus clauditur antro.
Intra scriptura stat Caesaris alta columpna
Regia structura quanta non extat in aula.

This man was swech þere is now non him lich. Now passed fro men and sperd in his litil den A meruelous sepultur a pilers of hy figur. To a kyngis bildyng full[1] in halle stand þere no swech. The rounde balle we se in whech his asches be If þis be but o ston be what craft myth it up gon If ioyntis ony ȝe se telle us wher þat þei be. This is þe priramydall memorie of þis noble conqwerour to whom was not ȝoue so grete worchip aftir his deth with outen notable dedis in his lyff. Wherfor we list now to reherse summe of his dedis þat all þe rederes may know he hath not þis memoriall with oute cause. Or he was emperour whilis he was on of þe consulis he caused þat þe romanes sent oute wise men gretly lerned in secular sciens to mesur all þe world. Thei laboured a boute þis werk xxxi ȝer and founde þat þe erde hath famouse sees xxx, prouinces seuenety and uiii, notabil citees an hundred and seuenety. So all þe world schuld conteyne in his sercle xx þousand myle and xl myle an be cause þe circumferens of euery sercle is thries as mech as is þe space fro o side to an othir þerfor þei concluded þat fro þe o side of þe world to þe othir schuld be ui þousand myle and uii hundred. Grete uictories had þis man ouyr dyuers naciones þat is to seye fraunȝs germanie with all his prouynces whech is ful ny þe þirde part of cristendam sueue eke he conquered grete brytayn whech þei clepe inglond erlond & many oþir. He had so many batailes in þe prouynces of germanye þat þe noumbre of hem þat wer slayn þere, cam as cronicles telle to iic thousand lxxxii thousand of chosen armed men. At[2] grete alisaundr also mad he meruelous werk saue o rebuk had he þere he was fayn to flee to þe watir and whan he had entred a schip þere folowid him so many men þat þe schip sank. Thann saued he him selue swymmyng
f. 363 v with o hand iic passe and / certey letteris in his oþir hand whech wer neuly brout on to him. This lord eke with ful grete stodye corrected þe kalender

Si lapis est unus qua fuit arte levatus,
Et si sint plures dic ubi congeries'
(*Pilgerfahrt*, Ritter v. Harff, 1496–9, p. 24, Cöln, 1860).

And lastly:

'Ut in quirinali aurei scriptum est:
Cesar tantus fuit quantus fuit ullus in orbe
Se nunc in modico clausit in antro suo.
Mira sepultura stat Cesaris alta columpna.
Regia structura qua rite novercat in aula.
Aurea concha patet qua cinis ipse latet
Si lapis est unus dic qua fuit arte levatus
Et si sint plures dic ubi contiguant'
(*MS. Bodl. Laud. Misc. 203*, fol. 148 r, saec. xiv).

See also Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, pp. 70–3; Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, pp. 105, 132.

[1] 'lich' in margin of MS.

[2] ? As.

whech was neuyr parfith on to þe tyme þat þis correccioun was mad and þerfor was on of þe monthis of it named aftir him. Suetonius seith of him þat his hand was as able to þe penne as to þe swerd. Of his meknesse it is told þat he cam on a tyme in to skole whe͞r as accius þe poete sat and red on to his disciples. Alle men rose a geyn þe emperou͞r saue þis accius þat sat stille. Aftir þe acte was do a lord enqwirid of þis poete whi he ros not and ded worchip to þe uictou͞r of all þis world. He answered a geyn in þis mane͞r þat a souereyn schuld not rise on to his subiecte, þe͞r for to do worchip on to his pere is ful conuenient but wisdam excellith al þing. This same proposicioun was so alowid of þe emperou͞r þat he ded make a lawe þere schuld neuir maystir in skole rise a geyn non astat.[1] Aftir many dyuers commendaciones of þis lord þe cronicles conclude þat he was killid in þe capitole be enuye of[2] brutus cassius. Of þe mane͞r of his deth and þe toknys be for his deth we͞r ouyr longe for to telle and eke ouyr fer͞r fro ou͞r purpous on whech we sette oure book at ou͞r begynnyng.

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Of dyuers templis of fals goddis turnyd to seruyse of seyntis. cap̄ x.

Be fore in þe uiii chapetir spoke we sumwhat in þis mate͞r and he͞r schul we fulfille þat was left þere. Be fore adrianes temple we͞r oþir too temples on was dedicat to þe goddesse of flowres þe oþir was consecrate to phebus. Phebus called þei þe sunne for þis cause. Phebus is as mech to sey as cler or brith þer for called þei so þe sunne for he is britest of all planetis. And you͡ so be þat alle þingis þat growyn on erde be moost norchid be þe sunne ȝit þese men in he͞r errouris wold haue a noþir special goddesse on to floures and hi͞r called þei flora. On of þese templis is now dedicat on to ou͞r lady and þe oþir on to seyn jame.[3] The cherch þat is clepid seynt urse was sum-

[1] 'Auditorium Tullii Caesar intravit. Cui cum assurgeret Tullius, Caesar prohibuit, dicens, "Non assurgas mihi, maior est enim sapientia quam potentia." Cui Tullius: "Orbis victori non assurgam?" Et Caesar, "At tu maiorem lauream adeptus es quam propagare terminos Romani imperii." Cuius verbi occasione lex a Caesare emanavit ut nemo codicem tenens aut legens cuiquam assurgat. *Valerius.*' And later: 'Accius poeta Iulio Caesari ad collegium poetarum venienti non assurrexit. Interrogatus autem cur tantae maiestati supersederet, respondit, "Inferior superiori assurgit: par pari convenit, sed sapientia cunctos praecellit (excellit)," quod quidem dictum Iulius approbavit. *Ranulphus*' (Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. iv, pp. 216, 218).

[2] 'o͞n' corrected thus in MS.

[3] This is probably S. Giacomo del Portico. This portico was the celebrated one which led from the bridge of S. Angelo to the Vatican basilica, and was constructed for the convenience of pilgrims, and for the venders of sacred objects. The church still exists, and is now called S. Giacomo di Scossacavalli (Armellini, p. 247; Nibby, p. 233). The church dedicated to Our Lady is probably S. Maria Traspontina.

tyme nero secretari in whech as men rede he used ful cursid nygromancy and dyuynacioun moost speciali in deed mennys bodies. For we rede of hym and of juliane apostata both þat þe deuel wold not speke on to hem on to tyme þei must sle a fayr woman grete with childe and sche schuld be hangid up and opened as a beest þanñ schuld þe deuel apperin in hir body and ȝiue hem answer of her materis. These houses comounly wer called her sory secretaries. Blessed be ihū þat hath turned cristen mennys hertis þat not only þei be aferd for to doo swech dedis but eke it is horrible on to hem for to her þerof. Ther was eke a feld fast by martis temple whech stood as we seide be fore fast by þat place whech þei clepe domine quo uadis. This feld seruyd to þis office. The þirde kalendis of july come all þe worthi
f. 364 r puple of rome / to þat same and þer was þe usage to chese her consules whech is as mech to sey as wisc men of councell whech wer chosen to gouerne þe puple as for o ȝer. For we rede of þe worþi men of rome þat þei were twyes consul or thries or foure sithes often tyme chose for her worthinesse. These men þus chosen schulde abide þere fro þat iii ꝺ. of july on to þe kalendis of januari and þanñ schuld be brout on to þe capitol with grete solempnite and receyue þer his office. Minerues temple whech is clepid goddesse of wisdom is now turned in to a cherch of our ladi and a couent of frere prechoures in whech stant a conclaue þere many a pope hath be chosen for grete sewirnesse for it stant in þe myddis of þe cyte. And þer be meruelous merkis made in marbill and writyng þerupon who hye þat tybur hath risen dyuers ȝeres. This chaungyng of templis in to chirchis schal be mor largely talked in þe secunde book whan we come to þe same places þat we speke of now.

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## Of þe capitol principal place of þe cite. cā xi.

Of þe capitol whech is now and euyr hath be as principal place of þe cite wil we speke. First ȝe schal undirstand þat þis place stant on a hill whech is cleped mons capitolinus for þis cause as we seyde be fore in þe capitule de montibus þat a mannes hed al hol was founde in þe ground whānn þei diggid to make a temple in worchip of jupiter.[1] It was eke clepid capitol as heed of all þe world for in þat hous þei kept her councell who þei schuld gouerne all þe world. It had grete wallis and þoo sumtyme sette with gold and precious stones of ful meruelous werk þat wold not lithly be distroyed with wedir for þe stones wer sawen in dyuers formes and couchid in þe wall with

[1] 'Tandem in monte Tarpeio templum Iovi construxit. In quo loco quia caput hominis inventum est dum foderent, Capitolium locum illum vocaverunt' (Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. iii, p. 158).

cyment as men may ȝet se in dyners cherches in rome. But þis werk of þis place and many moo is distroyed eythir be conqwest of þe cite or ellis be chaunge on to bettir use. With inne þis toun̄ was a temple whech þei sey as of ricchesse was worth þe þird part of þe world of gold siluyr perle and precious stones in which uirgile mad a meruelons craft[1] þat of euery region of þe world stood an ymage mad aⁿ of tre and in his hand a lytil belle, as often as ony of þese regiones was in purpos to rebelle a geyn þe grete mageste of rome a non þis ymage þat was assigned to þat regioun schuld knylle his beⁿ. Thann was þere in þe myddis of þe hous al a boue a knyt mad of bras & a hors of þe same metaⁿ whech euene a noon[2] as þis belle was runge turned him with a spere to þat cost of þe erde whe̅r þis pnple dwelt þat purposed þus to rebelle.[3] This aspied of þe prefas whech be certeyn cumpanyes we̅r assyned to wecch and wayte on þis ordynauns a non aⁿ þe knythod of rome with he̅r legionis / mad hem redy to ride and redresse þis f. 364 v
rebellion. Summe auctores sey þat þe belle hing a boute þe ymages nek. And a non as þe puple mad rebellion þe ymage turned his bak to þe gret god iubiter þat stood in þe myddys. Thei enqwyred of uirgile who longe þis werk schuld endewre and he answered tyl a may[4] bare a child whe̅rfor þei concluded þat it schuld stande euyr. In þe natiuite of crist þei sey aⁿ þis brak and many oþir þingis in the cite to schewe þat þe lord of aⁿ lordes was come. Men may haue meruеile þat uirgile schuld haue swech knowyng of þe misteries of ou̅r feith and I answe̅r þertoo þat þe holy goost put his ȝiftis nowt only in good men of trewe by leue but eke in othir. Lych as it is seyd of cayphas þat prophecied of cristis deth þe euangelist spekith of him þus. These wordes seid he not of him self but be cause he was bischop for þat ȝe̅r þerfor he prophecied. Neuyrþelasse in uirgił bookes be founde open testimonies of cristis birth as it is conteyned in a latyn book þat a woman called proba gadered owt of uirgiles uers. These iii uers folowyng coupled sche owt of þe first book eneydos & uii book. Uirginis os habitum q3 gerens mirabile dictu Nec generis nostri puerum nec sanguinis edit Uera q3 terrifici

[1] The legends regarding Vergil's miraculous powers would appear to have originated among the common people of Naples, and to have spread from there to Rome and to countries outside Italy. They disappeared from literature after the sixteenth century; but, in the south of Italy, they survive among the people to this day (Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, Part ii, London, 1908). Higden gives Alexander *de naturis rerum* as the 'rehersour of mony meruellous thynges' regarding Vergil's necromancy (Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. iv, p. 243).

[2] ever anon.

[3] The Salvatio Romae is described in *Edifichazion di molti palazzi*, Venice, 1480, p. A i v; and in Solinus *De memorabilibus mundi*, Venice, 1491, p. G ii v; but the latter author places it in the Pantheon instead of the Capitol. Higden also speaks of it (*Polychronicon*, vol. i, p. 216 et seq.). See also Graf in the chapter entitled *La Potenza di Roma*, in his work *Roma nella memoria*, &c., vol. i, ch. v, p. 182 et seq.

[4] ? maid.

cecinerunt om*n*ia uates. These uers mene þis in our tunge as I suppose. A woman beryng a uirginal mouth and a uirginal habite merueyl to seye Neythir of our kynrod ne of owre blood hath bore a child. The late comyng of þis dredful lord sunge þe former *pr*ophetis. This same capitol had many templis and houses hangi*n*g up on him as ȝet is sene. For in þe heith a boue was a temple consecrate to iubit*er* and iuno. A lithil be neth an othir temple cleped uestal in whech maydenes dweld in clennesse of chastite as I declared be fore. In a noþir temple þat was su*m*tyme named of þe lady rose[1] was a solempne chayer in whech þe p*r*incipal bischop of alle here temples þe day of his entre schuld be intronyzid in whech chayer þei sette juli*us* cesar whan*n* he was first receyuyd and þat was þe ui day of march. All þis as it semeth was on þe est side of þe capitol. And on þe west side to þe m*er*cate[2] side was a temple dedicate to mynerue. And fast by a tour in whech þei kyllid þe noble man often rehersid whech hith juli*us* cesar. Alle þese places ar ny chau*n*ged or distroyed be dyu*er*s men of oþir lond*is* þat haue wonne rome often tyme. And for þe romanes sey þat þei ferd neuir weel ne neuyr stood in *pr*osper*i*te sith cristendam cam þer*f*or wil I schewe hem þat oþir naciones conquered hem longe be fore crist was incarnate. The cronycles of grete brytayne ly now nexte hand whech is cleped inglond þer*f*or ont of þoo wil I take my testimonie. Belin*us* and brenn*us* wer to Kyngis of þis lo*n*d regnyng to gidir in þat same tyme þat
f. 365 r hester was wedded to / assuer. These to bretherin wonne a grete p*er*ty of rome[3] but p*r*incipal was brenn*us* whech made þe cytees in lumbardye both melan and pauye and aftyrward þese too breþ*r*in held a grete batayle with þe romaynes at a flood of þis side of rome called albula where þe romanes fled and þei folowed and took all þis citee saue þis capitol whech had be take had not a gander with cry a waked þe keperes. Of þis story not only our cronicles ber witnes but þe cronicles of itaile[4] | þat is to sey godfrey of

[1] It is difficult to understand what the anthor means by the Temple of 'þe lady rose'. The *Mirabilia* mentions a place called *in monasterio dominae Rosae castellum aureum* (Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, p. 108). Nichols, in n. 167, p. 86, identifies the *castellum aureum* as the Circus Flaminius, and the *monasterium dominae Rosae* as S. Caterina ai Funari.

[2] ? market.

[3] Brennius, brother of Belinus, King of Britain, rebels against the latter, and expels him. Belinus flees to France, and becomes Duke of Brittany. He invades England, but their mother makes peace between them. They then conquer France, a great part of Germany, and finally lay siege to Rome. Furius Camillus, however, breaks the siege (Higden, *Polychronicon*, ch. xvii, vol. iii, pp. 264–70. See also ch. xix, vol. iii, pp. 294–306, for another account of Belinus and Brennus).

[4] 'Et à la voix des oies puet on conoistre toutes les hores de la nuit et les vigiles; et n'est nus animaus au monde qui sente si bien les homes come eles font. Et a lor cri furent aperceu li Francois quant il voloient prendre le Chapitoile de Rome, selonc ce que l'istoire nous raconte' (Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Tresor*, p. 206).

uiterbe in his book whech he clepeth pantheon | and trogus pompeius[1] in his book eke, ysid bischop of spayn in his book of cronicules.[2] Also seynt ambrose bischop of melan in his book called exameron seith on to rome þat þei weꝛ moꝛ bounde to do worchep on to heꝛ gees þann to heꝛ goddis for þe gandyr was wakyng and warned hem whann heꝛ goddis slept. And in uery soth whan þis brennus had receyued a grete summe of gold and was goo þe fonnyd[3] puple defouled in errouꝛ ded make a gandyr of white marbiłł and ded to it worchip as to a god. The hed of it is broken but þe body lith ȝet hool at a cherch doꝛ whech þei clepe scs̄ nicholaus in carcere.[4]

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Of þe too hors of marbiłł & to naked men called þe caballis. xii.[5]

Off þe caballis be many strange tales sum sey þei weꝛ geauntis summe sey þei were philisophres. Too grete horses þere be and too naked men standyng be hem. On þe othir side of þe strete sittith a woman wounde al a boute with a serpent and a fayre conk of porphiry ston be foꝛ hiꝛ.[6] This is þe treuth of þis mateꝛ as cronycles telle. In þe tyme of tiberius þe emperouꝛ come to rome to naked men and philisophres but ȝong of age on of hem hith pratellus þe oþir hith sibia. These men were brout on to þe emperouꝛ

[1] For an account of Trogus Pompeius see article on Justinus, the historian, in Smith's *Dictionary of Biography*. He flonrished in the time of Augustus. His great work was called *Liber Historiarum Philippicarum*, to which title the words *et totius mundi origines et terrae situs* were afterwards added. Justinus admits that his own book was entirely derived from Trogus Pompeius's Universal History (Smith, *Dictionary of Classical Biography*, vol. ii, p. 680 b).

[2] There are several theological writers named Isidore; but the writer, who in another passage speaks of him as a 'bishop of Spain', appears to be referring to Isidore, Bishop of Seville. He is generally called S. Isidore the younger, so as to distingnish him from S. Isidore, Bishop of Cordova. S. Isidore the younger was the son of Severian, Governor of Cartagena, and Theodora; he flourished in the seventh century, and died in the year 636. S. Isidore the elder lived in the reign of Honorius and Theodosius the younger (Moreri, *Dictionnaire historique*).

[3] Fond, foolish.

[4] For an early account of the Capitol see Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, pp. 86-90; Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, p. 120.

[5] Earlier and similar accounts of the following legend will be found in Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. i, p. 276; Graf, *Roma nella memoria*, &c., vol. i, pp. 141 sqq.; Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, p. 122. 'Temporis Tiberii . . . in concha illa.'

[6] Nichols thinks that the statue of a sitting woman mentioned here may be the Hygeia of the Giustiniani Palace (*Marvels of Rome*, p. 41, n. 95). Michaelis mentions this statue of the woman wound about with a serpent, and remarks that it must have disappeared early; as that of the captive dwarf under the horse's hoof of the bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius must also have done; neither of them are mentioned by any author after the *Mirabilia*. He agrees with Nichols that it is very likely that the statue of Hygeia in the Giustiniani Palace is the same; as it shows (by its considerable restoration) signs of having been exposed for a long period to the action of the weather (*Römische Mittheilungen*, 1898, p. 252).

for þe puple dempt be here straunge aray þat þei knewe summe straunge þingis. The emperour inqwirid of hem what was cause of her comyng and whi þei went nakid. Thei answerd þat as þe schap of her body was open to alle meu be cause of her nakednesse soo all þe pryuy[1] of þe world were open on to her knowyng. Calle þou þi councell in to þi pryuy chambir þus seid þei on to þe emperour and comoun on to hem what mater þou wilt as pryuyly as þou can and we schal telle þe aftirward what was seyd fro þe moost on to þe leest. The emperour assayed þat þei seide and he fond all þing soth þat was promissed. Tho hith he hem grete ricchesse and had hem in ful grete reuerens and þei refused all and desired of him no oþir þing but yt þis memorial schul be mad in her name.[2] Or we procede ferþer in our mater we wil satisfie þe resones of men þat wil aske in what wise þese men myth haue þis pryuy cunnyng. And we answer þerto þat þei had þis cunnyng as is suppose for innocens for þei þat walked so naked had litil
f. 365 v appetite on to worldly good / and were ful uertuous eke in here maneres wherefor our lord list to rewarde hem with sum special 3ift. I suppose eke þat þei wer of a nacioun whech be clepid guynosopistis of whom we rede in þe geestis of grete alisaundre þat aftir he herd þe fame of hem he wolde algate se hem whom he fond al naked man and woman dwellyng in caues in þe erde euyr preising god neuyr doing wrong lyuyng with outen stryf with oute debate. Here lyuyng plesed þis king so wel þat he comaunded hem to ask of hym what þei wold haue and he schuld graunte hem. Thei prayed him to 3yue hem immortalite and he answerd þat þing whech he had not him self ne not myth haue who schul he 3yue it on to oþir men. Tho þei undirtok[3] of his pride manslauth ouyr rydyng of þe cuntre and mech oþir þing and he passed fro hem gretly meuyd of her innocent lyuyng. All þis sey we for to proue be liklynesse þat þese too men were of þis nacioun. Therfor stood þei naked for þei knew many priuy þingis as if a man se anoþir naked he schal haue mo sekir merkis of him þann if he se him clad. That þei hald up her handis and her armes it be tokneth þat þei coude telle of þingis whech schul falle aftirward. The grete hors þat trede so sore up on

[1] 'þingis' in margin of MS.

[2] The following passage in Nichols's translation of the *Mirabilia* is interesting, and comes in at this point of the legend: 'Therefore he made them the memorial that he had promised, to wit, the naked horses, which trample on the earth, that is upon the mighty princes of the world that rule over the men of this world; and there shall come a full mighty king, which shall mount the horses, that is, upon the might of the princes of this world. Meanwhile there be the two men half naked, which stand by the horses, and with arms raised on high and bent fingers tell the things that are to be; and as they be naked, so is all worldly knowledge naked, and open to their minds' (Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, pp. 40–41). For the Latin text see Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, p. 97.

[3] 'him' in margin of MS.

þe erde betokneth þe princes and potestatis þat haue gouernaun*s* of þis world ouyr whom stood þese naked men for to signifie þat wisdam is moꝛ of honouꝛ þan*n* power. For in kyng alisaun*d*re lif is a story ful iust to þis purpos whech tellith þat þe kyng was in will for to distroye a cite man & woma*n* wal and hous þe city hith attenes. And whan*n* he was come þidir with al his hoost he fonde sittyng in þe sunne an eld philisophꝛ called anaximenes whech had sum tyme be his maystir. The kyng supposed as it was þat þe city had sent him for to gete grace of þe kyng and a non as he say him with a grete ire and a grete oth he seide þese wordis. Be þe hy pr*o*uydens of god a boue what so euyr þou ask of me þis day it schal not be had. And þe philisophꝛ answerd him and seide. Now be þat same pr*o*uydens whech þou hast named I charge þe þat þou lette not til þis cite be distroyed. O quod alisaun*d*ꝛ euyr is þe maistiris wit a boue his disciple. Thus was þe cite saued and þe kyngis ire softed. These too naked men whos memorial we haue now in hand to descryue þei pr*o*fecied of þe cherch and eke of þe baptem and þe*r*for in testimonie of þis pr*o*fecie þeꝛ sittith a woman wou*n*de with a se*r*pent an a gret uessel by for hir of a porphiri ston. This woma*n* wou*n*de with a se*r*pent be tokneth þe soules whech were in þe deueles dau*n*ger with errouꝛ in heꝛ feith and cursed customes in heꝛ maners. The faiꝛ uessel of porphiri ston be tokneth þe baptem in whech sche schuld be waschid fro all þese grete pe*r*ellis. This same exposicioun is touchid / in f. 366 r
þe eld cronicles of rome and not neuly feyned be us.[1]

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Of þe hors of bras and þe rideꝛ y^t^ st*a*nt at late*r*aue xiii.

Now of þe hors þat stant at laterane and of þe sitter þat is up on him schal ~~now~~[2] be ouꝛ processe for su*m*me men sey þat it was mad in worchip of grete constantine but it is not soo.[3] First wil I declare on to ȝou þe schap of þe ymage and aftir telle þe story what he was and whi he was sette þere. A grete hors of brasse is þere of ful fayꝛ schap whech was sumtyme gilt and a man eke of þe same metall sittyng on his bak with outen sadill. A kyng bou*n*dyn undir þe hors fot and a bird sittyng on þe horses hed. This ymage

[1] 'De femina circundata serpentibus. Habe*n*s an*te* se concha*m*, significat baptismu*m* & p*re*dicatione*s* qu*a*e p*re*dicabu*n*tu*r* ut quicu*n*qu*e* ad do*m*inu*m* ire voluerit | no*n* poterit: nisi lavetu*r* p*r*ius in co*n*cha in fonte baptismatis' (Solinus, *De memorabilibus mundi*, Venice, 1491, p. G ii). See also Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. i, p. 226.

[2] 'now' interlineated in MS.

[3] 'Unten auf der erden do stet gar ein gross eren ross und ein pawr darauf gar meysterlichen gossen von aller glidmass, ist hol innen und vergult gewest; hat man denselben pawren zu eren gemacht, hat geheyssen Septimosephero, der Rom behalten und der konig, der davor lag, erschlagen gen Rom pracht hat' (Muffel, p. 14).

was sette þ*er*e for þis cause. In þat tyme þat consules gou*er*ned rome be fell þat a kyng cam oute of þe est with a grete strength of men and be sechid rome. In þe tyme of consnles seide I for rome was first gou*er*ned be kyngis and þan*n* be to co*n*snles whech wer chosen eu*er*y 3ere and þan̄ be emp*er*ouris of whech iulins cesar was þe first. So as I seide in þat same tyme þat cou*n*sellouris goucrned þe cite in whos tyme spec*i*ali fynde I not cam þis kyng and be seged rome. The cite was gretly frayed of þis kyng and coude not fynde a mene who þei schuld a uoide hym. Than was þ*er*e in rome a ma*n* of grete strength su*m*me bokes sey þat he was a knyth su*m*me a swyer and su*m*me þat he was but of þe low degre in þe puple whech is to sey in her langage rustic*us* in our a chorl. A bold man he was strong and wise. Happed him to be i*n* þe capitoll wher þe states and þ*er*e puple treted what cheuesau*n*ce[1] þei myth make to uoyde þis grete dau*n*ger. He stood up a mong*is* he*m* and seide what wold 3e gyue a man þat schuld delyu*er* 3ou fro þis distresse. The senate answerd lete þat mau apper and ask what he wil and he schal haue it. I wil seid þis man tak þis iornay up on me so þat 3e grau*n*t me xxx sextaries of gold and eke make a memorial in my name hors and man lich as I wil ride. Alle þis schal be mad of brasse and gilt a boue on þe best wise. The senate grau*n*ted him to fulfill all his desire. Than seide he on to hem. At mydnyth loke 3e be redy alle in dikys and cauernes iu þe grou*n*d and in þe arches with inne þe wallis and what so euyr I bid 3ou do loke 3e fulfille it. Thei consentid to al þat was seid. At mydnyth þis man lep up on a grete hors and a strong and rood forth in to þe feld with a sith on his bak as þou3 he wold goo to mowe. When he cam in þe hoost he houed and taried til þe kyng had slept his slepe and roos and went on to a tre to auoyde þe birden of his wombe. Certeyn knytis and swieres þat wer keperis for ye body folowed fro fer and sey þis man þus arayed lich a charl ridyng wit3 oute a sadel supposed not þat he had be of rome but rather su*m*
f. 366 v labourer of / her owne party and þus þei cried on to him. Be war carl what þou do come not so uy þe kyng þou schal be hangid and þou touch him. The man herd what þei seide and with a good a uis he lyft up þe kyng on to his hors for he was a large man and a strong and þe kyng but of litil statur. Thns rood he forth crying with a londe voys. Rise romanes and defende 3on for I haue caute þe ky*n*g. The romanes caut grete cou*n*fort þat þis kyng was take þe o þ*ir* partye lost hert þat her heed was absent and þus had romanes þe feld þis man grete worchip and þe perell delyu*er*yd. For þat same kyng was fayn to co*m*pown wit3 hem a*n*d pay hem grete tribute or his delyu*er*au*n*ce was mad. Than rered þei þis ymage at late*r*ane with many

[1] '*Chevissance*', old French word = ce dont on a besoin, ce qu'on se propose.

oþir þing*is* þan*n* we expressc now for þei be wasted with age and rust as men may uerily see.[1]

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Of þat place whech þei clepe þe collise cap̄ xiiii.

The collise eke is a meruelous place whech was mad round of schap & grete arches & mayn as ȝet is sene for þe moost part of it stant at þis day. It was þus disposed þat a wal goth in a sercle I suppose þat it was ny of an hundred arches a boute and a boue þat as many and eke a boue þat as many.

[1] This legend was a favourite one in the Middle Ages, as will be seen from the following references: *Edifichazion di molti palazzi*, Venice, 1480, p. B vi; Solinus, *De memorabilibus mundi*, Venice, 1491, p. g ii. He speaks 'de rustico sedente super equum ereum' (Ritter von Harff, *Pilgerfahrt in den Jahren 1496–9*, pp. 15–16: von Groote, Cöln, 1860). He says: 'Item hie hij vur der kirchen saegen wir eynen groissen metaellen man off eynem metaellen perde sitȝen,' &c. In the *Descriptio plenaria* of the *Mirabilia* we read: 'Laterani est quidam cahallus aureus qui dicitur Constantini sed non est ita,' &c. (Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, pp. 98, 99). Graf thinks that the owl on the head of the horse was only the plaited forelock of hair between the ears of the animal, and that the figure of the bound dwarf king, now no longer to be found, represented some subdued people (*Roma nella memoria*, &c., vol. ii, pp. 113–115). Rucellai, a Florentine pilgrim of 1450, says that the hero of the legend was a 'villano o vero uno pastore che guardava bestie' (*Il Giubileo dell' anno santo*, *Archivio St. Pat.*, 1881, vol. iv, fasc. iv, p. 571). But Higden's account differs so much from all the others that it is interesting enough to quote in full. At vol. i, p. 228, the Latin text begins: 'Est et aliud signum', and the translation in the Harleian MS. 2261 is as follows: 'Also there was an other signe a fore the palice of the pope, whiche is a horse made of hrasse, and the sitter on hit as spekenge to the peple hy the signe of the riȝhte honde, and governenge the horse as with the lyfte honde, havenge a hrydde callede a cukkowe made betwene the eeres of the horse, and Nanus lyke to dye under his feete, whom pilgremes calle Theodoricus, the commune peple Constantyne, but clerkes of the cowrte calle hit Marcus or Quintus Curtius. That signe stode somme tyme on iiii pyllers of hrasse a fore the awter of Iupiter in the Capitoly or chiefe place of Rome. But Seynte Gregory put downe the horse man and that horse, and putte the pillars in the chirche Lateranense. The Romanes toke the horse man and the horse and sette hit hefore the palyce of the pope. Men callenge hyt Marcus assigne this cause. A man callede Nanus, erudite in the arte of nigromancy, which suhduenge tu hym mony kynges and realmes wente to the Romanes, takenge a weye from theyme the vertu of smytenge and kyllenge (*virtutem feriendi*) segede theyme longe schutte with in the cite. This Nanus wente from his felowschippe erly in the mornenge afore the rysenge of the sonne, and put his arte in exercise; whiche thynge perceyvede, the Romanes made promise to Marcus, a nohle knyȝhte, that he scholde have predominy of the cite and a perpetualle memory if he cowthe delyuer that cite. Marcus pereschenge the walle of the cite on that parte where Nanus usede the arte of nigromancy goenge furthe on the nyȝhte taryede for Nanus untylle the morowe, whom a hrydde callede a cuckowe schewede hy here voyce; whiche takenge him hrouȝhte hym in to the cite, whiche fallenge down amonge the feete of the horses supposede to have delyverede hym by his arte; wherfore Marcus had that memorialle. Men that calle hit Quintus assigne this reason, seyenge that there was a place open in the myddes of the cite pereschenge mony men as with a hrethe of sulphure, an answere ȝiffen to the peple that hit wolde not he schutte un tylle a man felle in to hit voluntarily. Then Quintus armenge hym felle in to hit to delyuer the cite; that doen, a cukko did flye owte from that pytte, and the erthe was closed anoon' (R. Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. i, p. 228).

Thann was þeꝛ an othir wal inward þat had as many arches be þe ground as þe first part had but þe arches weꝛ lesse as reson askith for þe sercle was smalleꝛ and þis wal had but to cors of arches for þe curyng of þe uoutes weꝛ so disposed þat þe roof was hy with oute and descended loweꝛ with inne. . Than was þeꝛ þe þird wal whech had and hath as many be þe ground as hath þe oþir but it hath non a bouen. So hath þe uttir wal iii arches in heith the secunde ii arches in heith the iii but on. Thann was þere in þe myddis a grete uoide court and a solempne werk yerin whech is now distroyed for þere stant but an eld chapell. As of þe name of þis place þus write oure bokis. Catholicon[1] seith þat colliseus is swech a þing þat is rered for þe mynd of a ded[2]. He allegith for him juuenal þe poete þat seith þus. Et de marmoreo citharam suspende colloso. Whech is to sey. And al of marbil hang up an harp to þe collise. Wherby he ment þat what þing be mad to þe memorie of a ded man it may be called a collise. Therfoꝛ seide papie[3] þat collise is a grete ymage of marbill and a hy. Catholicon seith alsoo heꝛ þat in þis same place stood yoo ymages with bellis a boute heꝛ nekkis whech[4] þe rebellioun of dyuers cuntres a geyns rome. But all oþir auctores sey þat þis ordinauns was in þe capitol as we declared be foꝛ. Wherfor we will iustly write now what ye elde auctores sey in yis mateꝛ.[5] The collise þei sey was a temple of grete heith and brede nominat and consecrate on to þe sunne and þe mone in whech weꝛ many
f. 367 r / wondirful werkis. For þe rof a boue was cured with plates of metall so gilt and depeynted þat it was lich þe sterred heuene a boue in whech be sotill craft þei feyned þundris and lcuenes reynes and oþir wederes swech

[1] *Catholicon* at this date meant a dictionary.

[2] 'man' in margin of MS.

[3] There are three writers of this name. The first is S. Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, a disciple of S. John Evangelist; or, according to Eusebius, of S. John of Ephesus. He wrote five books, entitled *The Explanation of the Discourses of our Lord*; only some fragments remain. Papias No. 2 was of Alexandria, and lived in the fourth century. He wrote on Mathematics in the time of Theodosius the Great. Two of the eight books which he wrote have been lost; the remainder were published in Latin at Pesaro. Papias No. 3 was the author of a book called the *Elementarium doctrinae rudimentum*. His date is uncertain; but a manuscript of his book is believed to have existed in 1173. His work, a glossary, was published in Venice in 1496 (Moreri, *Dictionnaire historique*).

[4] 'schewid' in margin of MS.

[5] For the legend of the Colosseum consult Graf, *Roma nella memoria*, &c., vol. i, pp. 118 and 122. It will be noticed in the *Mirabilia* that, in the older editions, such as the *descriptio plenaria*, the *Graphia*, &c., the wording is: 'Ante Coliseum fuit Templum solis ubi fiebant . . .,' &c.; whereas in later editions the words are: 'Coliseum fuit templum solis,' &c. This would show that the earlier authorities believed that the Temple of the Sun was a separate building *in front* of the Colosseum, but that later writers took the Colosseum itself to be the Sun-temple. Compare Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, p. 110 with p. 136.

as come fro þe firmament. Theꝛ weꝛ also apperyng þere þe signes super celestial expressid ful weel in wuech tymes of þe ȝer þe sunne passith be hem. As iu januari be þe sigue þei clepe aquari, iu februari be þe fischis, in march be þe ram, in april be þe bul, in may be þe too twynnes castor & pollux, in iune be þe crabbe, in iule be þe leoun, iu august be þe uirgin, in september be þe balaunce, in october be þe scorpioun, in novembir be þe scheter, in december be þe gote. Alł þese weꝛ schewid þeꝛ ful meruelously in heꝛ meuingis and many oþir þingis. In the myddis of þis place stood þe grete god phebus so is þe suune cleped and eke apollo is his name. He was so mad þat with his feet he touched þe erde and with his rith hand þe heueue for in his left hand held he a bal as þouȝ he had al þis world in gouernaunce.[1] Whi he is cleped phebus and whi apollo and whi þat iunenal seid be foꝛ þat þe harp schuld be hange be foꝛ him rather þan be for othir alł þis wold ask longe declaracioun of poetrie whech is uow fer fro my mynde & clene out of use. Neuyrþelasse as a gramarioun I wil sumwhat expowne þis þat sol is clepid phebus a phos whech is as mech to sey as lith for þis cause þat he hath moꝛ lith þan alle þe planetis. He is eke cleped appollo aftir a famouse man þat had þat same name whech was a souereyn lech and þis name was attribut on to þe sunne for he cureth þe sores of erde and causeth þe same erde to bring forth ~~forth~~ ful rip frntes. The melodye of þe harp is offered on to him as to þe reuleꝛ and principall of alł planetis in whech planetes cours and turnyng as philisophres sei is ful grete melodye. Now whi al þis fayre werk was distroyed wil I telle ȝou. Seint siluester aftir yat tyme he had baptized ye grete constantine was mad lord and emperouꝛ of alł þis side of þe world for þe for said constantiu went on to constantinople and dwelt þeꝛ þat he ne non of his schuld interrupt þe grete poweꝛ aud þe grete possessioun whech he ȝave to þe cherch. Thus standyng þe cherch at his liberte mech cristen puple come to rome in pil-

[1] 'Another signe is an ymage of Colossus, whom they seye to be the ymage of the sonne or elles of the cite of Rome of whom hit is to be meruaylede how that so hevy a thynge myȝhte be soe erecte, sythe hit is in longitude of c foote and xxuiti; whiche ymage was somme tyme in the yle of Rhodus, whiche was more hie in altitude by xu foote than eny place of the cite. That ymage hade in the ryȝhte honde of hit a rownde thynge after the similitude of þe worlde, and a swerde in the signe of batelle in the lifte honde, in token that hit is less vertu to gete than to kepe thynges y-geten. That ymage was made of brasse, but hit was ouer gilte with golde imperialle, schynenge contynually in derkenesse, movenge egally with the son in his circumference, hade the face of hit contrarious alleweyes to the body of the sonne; whom alle Romanes worschippede in a signe of subieccion, whom seynte Gregory destrayede with fyre; of whiche ymage the hede and ryȝhte honde remaynede, whiche be sette nowe afore the palice off the pope on ii pyllers of marbole' (Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon*). This passage follows immediately on the quotation already made in chapter xiii, describing the legend of the 'hors of brass' (vol. i, pp. 233–5). See also Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, pp. 62–4, notes 112 and 114.

*gr*image and whan*n* þei seyn þis gay bildyng and þis meuyng of þese planetis as I haue declared þei left mech of heꝛ deuocio*un* and stood and gased on þese uanities rith for nouelte of þe site. Tho mad sei*nt* siluest*er* þis mau*n*mentrie to be broke and spent in to betir use. Al þis haue I red, þat whech folowith in þis mateꝛ haue I herd. Men sey þat siluest*er* cam þidir on *pr*ocessio*un* whech tyme þis werk schuld be distroyed and þis grete
f. 367 v ymage þat stood al a boue / be power whech þe deuele had þer*in* spak to siluester and seide þus. Colis eum þat is to sey in englisch worchipis þou him. The deuele spak yoo wordes at þat tyme to stere þe puple whech was redy to distroye þat maume*n*trie þat for very feꝛ of þoo wordis þei schuld lette hir werk. And þanꝛ seynt siluest*er* with a grete boldnesse turned þe xposicio*un* on to anothir and seyd to þe mau*n*dme*n*t. Colis de*um* þat is to sey þou worchipist god. So cried þei oft sithis as it is told þe on colis eu*m* þe oþir colis de*um* and of þis dialoge in returny*n*g of a terme roos þe name of þis place as su*m* sey þat it was called collise. Wheþir þis be treuth or nout I make no meyntenau*n*ce. But þis haue I red in þis mateꝛ þat siluest*er* ded distroye it and in tokne þat þeꝛ was swech a þing sumtyme þe grete heed and þe left hand i*n* whech he held þe ball he sette at late*r*ane and ȝet stant it þeꝛ.[1]

[1] After describing the statue of Marcus Aurelius as standing before the Lateran, Muffel describes this head and hand of the Colossus as being in the same place. The former, he says, was popularly known as 'septimo sephero'; of the latter he remarks: 'und nit fern davon do stet ein grosz ern' (ehern) 'haubt von einem aptgot, das ist grosser dan ein saltz scheih und dopey die haut desselhen aptgotz, hat ein maiestat apfel in yr hegriffen, gar wercklich gemacht' (Muffel, p. 14). 'Item in sulla piaza in sur un pezo di colonna una testa di giogante di hronzo e uno hraccio con una palla di hronzo' (Rucellai, *Il Giubileo dell' anno 1450*, *Arch. St. Pat.*, 1881, vol. iv, fasc. iv, p. 572). Solinus in his description says that St. Sylvester, after destroying the figure of Apollo, 'Caput vero et manus dicti idoli cu*m* pomo ad palaciu*m* i*n* laterano fecit poni in memoria*m*; q*uae* palma & caput Samsonis falso vocat*ur* a vulgo' (*De mirabilibus mundi*, Venice, 1491, p. G ii v). The following passage occurs after a description of the 'Colixeum': 'ac̄o da poi el dc̄o sc̄o bonifatio papa el chapo e lamano desso idolo fece ponere per memoria alla ecclesia di sancto ihoanne laterano. & chussi ene āchoi de mettalo & dichono li grossi homeni che la e la testa & la mano di sampsone ma non e vero come o dc̄o & lavanzo de esso idollo disperso qua & la per roma' (*Edifichazion di molti palazzi*, Venice, 1480, p. A iii v. Compare Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, p. 136). In Plate No. I of De Rossi's *Piante iconografiche di Roma* it will he noted that the head and hand of the Colossus are shown close to the *Sancta Sanctorum* of the Lateran, and that the statue is also there. In suhsequent plates the head and hand are no longer shown; but the statue appears as late as Plate VIII, when the following words are written (in another hand to the engraver's) on the plate: 'Haec enea equestris statua M. Aurelii Antonini Severi aut Septimii Severi, nunc posita capitolio.' It is also noteworthy that Coliseus is spelt so in Plate I, and that in Plate II the building is covered with a cupola, which very likely refers to the legendary description of the heavenly spheres given in our MS. The colossal head of Domitian (then believed to be either that of Commodus or of Nero) was removed from the Lateran Palace, together with the hand holding an orh (popularly known as the *palla Samsonis*), hy Sixtus IV in 1471, and taken across to the Capitol. They found

Of þat place whech þei clepid pantheon. capꝫ xu.

Pantheon was eke a notable place now it is called scā maria rotuuda ul[1] scā maria ad martires. And of aⱡⱡ þese names schal be mad[2]. In þat same tyme þat kyngis had cesed at rome and consules had þe gouernannce ther was a man a mongis hem cleped marcus agrippa grete of witte and of power. This man was sent be þe auctorite of þe seuate for to conquere þe west parties of þe world. And took with him iiii legiones and went down in to þe lower cuntres conqwered on to her empir aⱡⱡ þe sueues and saxones and many oþir. Whan þis conquest was performed and he com hom receyued as a uictour not longe aftir on of yoo ymages þat stood with her belles a boute her nekkis in þe capitole ronge his belle and turned his face a wey fro þat coost þat he be held be fer and þis same ymage was named and markid on to þe kyngdam of perse. This say þe prest þat was ebdomadary for þat weke whech lay and wayted up on swech chaunces as his office was he roos up a non went up in to þe capitol on to þe lordes and teld in sothnes þat þe puple of perse was redy to debate and purposed to rebelle. Thei gadered her counceⱡⱡ to make remedy a geyn þis rebellion and aⱡⱡ þei consentyd þat þis marcus agrippa schuld goo on to þis conquest for too causes. On was for he had sped so weel in his oþir iornay, a noþir cause for his puple was redy on to his hand and he as late experte knew best þe condiciones of hem what þei coude doo or eⱡⱡ what þei myth doo. This man refused þis charge alleggyng þe labour þat he had late and þe litil rest aftir þat. Neuyrþelasse at grete instauns of þe senate he took a uisement of iiii dayes to ȝeue hem yanne a final answer. Hom he gooth heuy and þouthful stodying on þis mater of þe grete distaunce of þe weye of þe perel eke iu þe see aud moost for þe power as was reported yat þei of / perse had purueyed a geyn rome. f. 368 r
Thus as he lay half a slepe þere appered on to him a fayr woman sche counforted him as he þout & bad him be myry for if he wold doo aftir hir counceⱡⱡ he schuld haue as fayr a iornay as euyr had conqwerour of rome. The man in þis uisioun as he þoute spak on to þis lady he had merueyl he seide what sche was þat hitȝ him so grete þingis of whech he stood sore in dout. Sche answerd on to him þat sche was modyr of þe grcte goddis celestial wyf on to saturnus modir on to jubiter neptune and pluto my name sche seith is cibeles whcch in ȝour sacraries is rehersed witȝ gret solempnite. O blissid modir seith þis man will ȝe now make me sewir þat I schal haue þe uictorie at þis iornay. | ȝa treuly sche scith so þou make þis

a new home under the portico of the Palace of the Conservatori; and formed an historical group together with the celebrated brazen wolf of the Capitol (Michaelis, *Römische Mittheilungen*, 1891, p. 14 and note).

[1] 'ul' = uel.

[2] 'mencion' in margin of MS.

byhest þat þou schalt make me a temple of þat schap whech I schal deuyse on to þe. There sche dynysed hem aƚƚ þe schap of þe temple both in heith and in brede and he be hite hiꝛ aftir his iornay sped he schuld fulfiƚƚ al þat sche had comaun*d*ed. He roos up in þe morownyn*g* weel coun*f*ortid told aƚƚ þis coun*c*eƚƚ on to þe senate and aƚƚ þat euyr he had be hitȝ þei p*r*omissed to fulfille. Men myth ask heꝛ whi ouꝛ lord suffered þese wikked spiritis þus to appeꝛ and þus undir simulat religiou*n* to make men spend so grete good in þe deueles seruyse. As for þe sufferaun*s* of god þat mater is inp*er*scrutabil saue þat seynt paule seith þat for þe grete defautes whech weꝛ in heꝛ lyuyng þei weꝛ worþi for to be disseyued. Thus seith he in þe epistiƚƚ ad romanos. To þe oþir party whi he suffered swech richesse to be spent in þe deueles se*r*uyse su*m*me men answeꝛ because it was wron*g*fully gote it had þe lesse grace for to be weel spent. Sn*m*me men sey bettir þeꝛ to þat god mad a puruyaun*c*e at þat tyme þat þoo grete houses whech were rered up for erreuꝛ or for uanyte schuld aftirward serue in betir use to worchip of god and seyntis as dauid took þe crowne of an hethen kyng and wered it him selue þis rede we in þe secund book of kyngis. Now to telle ouꝛ p*r*ocesse þis marcus agrippa restored his hoost and with grete strength went in to perse many schippis had he for he led with him u legiones. Þere with grete labouꝛ and many batayles he ouyr cam hem and pnt hem undyr gretter tribute on to rome þan*n* þei weꝛ by fore. Thns comth he ho*m* uictouꝛ and is receyued with grete worchip. A non as he hath rested him a while he by gan þis temple with ful grete cost for it is a meruelous hous and a grete whech myth not haue so grete sintiris[1] as þe arches ar wyde and þ*er*for he ded make a grete hiƚƚ of erde and couchid aƚƚ þese uoutes þ*er*upon and in þe erde was þrowyn mech mony þat þe puple aftir edificacion of the hous schuld be glad for to bere oute þe erde.[2] Eke þe porche is made with pileres

[1] Centering.

[2] 'Giacomo da Voragine racconta nella *Legenda aurea* (ed. del Grässe, cap clxii, p. 157) una storia assai appropriata al concetto che nel medio evo si ebbe della ricchezza dei Romani. Quando a Roma si prese a costruire il Pantheon, di forma rotonda per significare l'eternità degli dei, si vide che stante l'ampiezza del giro non sarebbe stato possibile di alzare, con gli aiuti ordinari, la testudine, ossia la cupola. Allora si pensò di riempiere di terra, mescolata con denari, tutto il vano dell' edifizio mano mano che le mura crescevano sopra suolo. A questo modo si potè compiere agevolmente l'opera e compiuto che fù, si diede licenza a chiunque volesse trar fuori di quella terra di appropriarsi le monete che vi avrebbe trovato. Accorse gran moltitudine di gente, e in poco d'ora fu votato il tempio' (Graf, *Roma nella memoria*, &c., vol. i, p. 180). In Vasari's Life of Filippo Brunelleschi a similar proposal was made at the time of the celebrated discussion as to how the dome of the cathedral at Florence was to be built. He says: 'E non mancò che dicesse che sarebbe stato bene empierla di terra e mescolare quattrini fra essa, acciochè, volta, dessino licenza che chi voleva di quel terreno potesse andar per esso, e così in un subito il popolo lo portasse via senza spesa' (Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*).

of marbil so hye and so grete þat it is mer/ueil for to se and for to þink f. 368 v
who þei myth be caried or lift up. Aftir þe hous was mad he sette up a ymage of cibeles in þe heith of þe roof whech ymage was made of bras ful weel gilt a boue and ouyr hir hed was þat coproun[1] þat stant by foꝛ seynt petres cherch who it cam þere or in whos tyme schal be declared aftirward in þe secund book. Sufficid now of þis place þus mad in þe honour of cibeles modir of þe goddis and neptune god of þe see in special and aꝉ oþir goddis in general. Summe men sey þat þis þing was doo in domicianes tyme and þe elde cronycles sey it was doo in the consules tyme. Whech begunne to gouerne rome at þe last kyng and cesed whan þe first emperouꝛ cam whech was julius cesar eke be twix iulius and domician were ix emperoures. Heꝛ be to opiniones let men chose what þei wiꝉ.[2]

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Of þat faiꝛ place cleped ara celi. caꝑ xui.

Ara Celi is now a ful solempne place standyng on a hiꝉ fast by þe capitoꝉ it is not ouꝛ occupacioun for to telle what it is for þat longith to þe secunde book but for to telle what it was. Theꝛ was a emperouꝛ at rome clepid octauian next regnyng aftir julius cesar for he was cosyn on to iulius. This emperouꝛ with grete labouꝛ and prudens mad subiecte on to rome aꝉ þe naciones of þe world þus sey þe romanes. We sey þat crist ded þis for whan he schuld come & take mankynde and ioyne it on to his godhed he wold haue a general pes þorw oute þe world whech feꝉ in þis mannes tyme þe xlii ȝeꝛ of his regne. The senatoures and þe puple of rome þat knew not crist ne receyued him nowt seyn aꝉ þis pes had in þis mannes tyme tendred eke þe grete iornayes þat he had mad considered alsoo þe beute of his persone þei cleped him on to heꝛ capitol and had on to him swech wordis. | Lord hiest of myth fayrest of beute moost fortunat to pees and trancquillite we se weel and perseyue þat þis þing myth neuyr be doo be a worldly man. | Wherfor we undirstand weel þat þere is a grete part of deite regnyng with inne þe and for þat cause we alle with on assent aꝛ þus acordid to worchip þi persone as a god to sette up þi statue and a lawe þerupon þat who so euyr come forby and do it no worchip he schal be ded. Refuse not þat we profir for of uery loue and puꝛ deuocioun we offir to ȝou aꝉ þis seruyse. The emperouꝛ heryng þese wordes stood al a stoyned knowing him a man corruptible and dedly prikkid þus with ueyn glorie on þe o side and with feꝛ of deth on þe oþir side ȝaue hem þis answere. ȝe schal he seith graunt me leyser

[1] ? cuprum = copper.

[2] For the early legends regarding the Pantheon see the *Mirabilia* commencing: 'Temporibus consulum et senatorum Agrippa . . . quod Caesar ei concessit' (Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, pp. 99-101; Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, pp. 46-50; Graf, *Roma nella memoria*, &c., vol. i, pp. 130-2).

and auysement of þis mater and aftir tyme I haue a uised me ȝe schal haue swech answere with whech ȝe schal be plesed. Aftir he was go fro hem he sent for a woman þei cleped hir sibillam tiburtinam eythir was sche cleped
f. 369 r so for sche dwelt in þat cite or ellis for / sche was bor in þat cite. Whann sche was come he rehersed on to hir all þat þe senate had purposed on to him and sche took of him iii dayes of auisement in whech sche fastid ful streytly praying þe grete god of heuene to ȝeue hir grace þat sche schuld ber þe emperour an answer whech schuld be plesaunȝs to god and worchip to his persone. Here may men se þat be for cristis birth were ful goode and holy creatures nowt only in þe iewis lawe whech was ȝoue be moyses but eke a mongis þe hethen men as romanes wer dwelt sum folk whech be uery inspiracioun of god had þis undirstandyng þat þei knew weel þere was no god but on maker of heuene and erde, þei knewe eke þat þoo mawmentis sperd in templis had no part of deite as þe puple supposed but al was errour and mysbeleue. Whan þis woman in fastyng and prayer had continued þese iii dayes sche mette with þe emperour rith in þe same place called now ara celi þann was it clepid octauianis chambir and þere had sche meruelous wordis on to þe emperour for sche as þis story seith brout him þidir xxuii uers þe first begynnyth. Judicii signum tellus sudore madescit in whech xxuii uers in capitales of hem was conteyned þis sentens. Iesos cristos tenuyios sother,[1] in latyn þus. Iesus Xpc dei filius saluator, in english þus. Iesus crist þe son of god our sauyour. Of þese uers and þis sibille spekith seint austyn in þe xuiii book de ciuitate dei but sumwhat (diū) seth he fro þis cronicle whech calleth hir tiburtinam for austin clepith hir erutheam. Aftir yese uerse red and expowned as þei loked up þei sey þe beuene opyn and a grete clernesse brith as þe sunne eke an auter þei seyn and on þe auter a fair mayde standyng and in hir arme a child. Summe bokis sey þat þis mayde with hir child appered in a sunne and summe sey þat þer appered þat day þat crist was bore iii snnes and alle iii in schort tyme turned in to on, be whech þing as þei say was undirstande þat in þe godhed ar iii persones and on of þese iii took onr kynde of þis mayde. Othir men sey þat þis þing signified who iii kyndes godhed soule and flesch schuld be ioynèd in o persone. Whan þe emperonr had be hold þis a gre while he herd a uoys fro heuene soundyng þese wordis. This is þe auter of god to þis loke þou do worchep.[2]

[1] Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ.

[2] 'Tempore Octaviani imperatoris senatores videntes eum tantae pulchritudinis, quod nemo in oculis eius intueri posset, et tantae prosperitatis et pacis, quod totum mundum sibi tributarium fecerat, ei dicunt: "Te adorari volumus quia divinitas est in te; si hoc non esset, non tibi omnia subirent prospera." Quod renitens indutias postulavit ad se sibillam tiburtinam vocavit, cui quod senatores dixerant recitavit. Quae spatium trium dierum petiit in quibus artum ieiunium operata est, post tertium diem respondit impera-

A non þe emperour and sibill fell down to ground and ded reuerens and deute to þat lord þat wold schew him swech maner misteries. All þis was don on þe same day þat crist was born þat not only bedlem schuld haue knowing of crist, ne not only schiphardis in iude, ne not only þe kyngis of þe est, hut men of rome whech wer fer fro þe trewe feith. Thoo went þe emperour on to þe senate and teld hem of þe gret merueilis whech he had seyn. Þer he refused all þat þei profered him and seide he wold be seruaunt on to þis child euyr whil he may lyue. The senate consentid to all þat is don and go hom euery man / musyng up on þis site whech þe emperour and f. 369 v eke sibill had seyn. Sone aftir he ded make an auter in þe same place[1] and called it ara celi, now it is a ful solempne conente of frer myenouris and be cause we schul not talk þerof in þe secund book for it is neythir on of þe uii cherches ne non of þe patriarcal cherchis whech be clepe staciones þerfor wil I write her uers whech I red þere. Cunctarum prima que fuit orhe sita Noscas quod cesar tunc struxit octauianus Hanc aram celi sacra proles cum patet ei.[2] Thns mene þei in englisch with declaracioun and addicioun of moo termes for esier undirstandyng. The first church of all cherches þat wer mad in þis world is þis. Knowe weel þat þe emperour octauian mad þis same. He cleped it þe auter of heuene whech tyme þat þe mayde with hir child appered on to him. This same place as I fond writen

tori, " Hoc pro certo erit, domine imperator : Iudicii signum tellus sudore madescet, E celo rex adveniet per secla futurus, Scilicet in carne presens, ut iudicet orhem." Et cetera quae secuntur. Ilico apertum est celum, et maximus splendor irruit super eum. Vidit in celo quandam pulcerrimam virginem stantem super altare, puerum tenentem in brachiis; miratus est nimis et vocem dicentem audivit: "Haec ara filii dei est"; qui statim in terram procidens adoravit, quam visionem senatorihus, et ipsi mirati sunt nimis. Haec visio fuit in camera Octaviani imperatoris, uhi nunc est ecclesia sanctae Mariae in Capitolio. Idcirco dicta est ecclesia sanctae Mariae ara celi ' (Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, pp. 95–6). See also paper on the legend of Ara Caeli, read hefore the British and American Archaeological Society in Rome by Dr. Ch. Hülsen in February, 1907, published in *Proceedings* of the Society for 1906–7 ; Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, pp. 35–8.

[1] In the Middle Ages it was believed that Augustus had adored the infant Christ, and that Tiherius, Titus, and Vespasian had received haptism. Eusehius, S. Jerome, and Orosius all believed that Philip was a Christian. This was also believed hy Baronius and l'Huet, hut disputed by Pagi (see Graf, vol. ii, n. 45, p. 75). It is stated that Alexander Severus was not only a Christian, hut that he also endowed the Church liherally (see Godfrey of Viterbo, *Speculum regum*, v. 1026–31). Giacomo Malvezzi says that during the reign of Philip, *the most Christian Emperor*, the church of S. Peter in Brescia was dedicated (*Chronicon*, dist. iii, C. 5). See also Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, pp. 101–3, which gives a long account of Philip ; Graf, *Roma nella memoria*, &c., vol. ii, p. 75.

[2] Curiously enongh, the first line of the inscription (which still exists) is not found here. The remainder is quite correct (see Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, &c., vol. i, p. 131). The missing line is as follows :—

Luminis hanc almam matris qui scandis ad aulam :

and the inscription is cut in Gothic letters.

þere was consecrat be anaclete þe pope whech was þe iiii fro petir. And up on to þis are þe fayrest greces of white marbil þat be in þe world for þere be as I haue mynde ui scor̄ and eyte.[1]

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Of þat place þat stant fast be þat ȝate called flaminea. cap̄ xuii.

Fast by þat ȝate whech þei clepe porta flaminea þis same octauian did make a grete tour̄ whech he clepid þe emperoures castell whepir it was þe grete round hill þat stant þere and all þe housyng is distroyed saue uoutis in þe ground or ellis it is a grete tour̄ of ston þat stant nyher the foreseid ȝate it is to me a doute.[2] But þis mech fynde I wrytyn þat he mad þis werk to þis entent þat emperoures schuld be byried þere. Edified it was with grete tables of marbil and in þoo tables grauen þe conquestis of rome. Therfor hope I ȝet þat þis same tour̄ þat stant ȝet a grete part is þat same. He called it þe castelle augustall,[3] augustus is as mech for to sey as an emperour̄

[1] The church of S. Maria in Ara Celi was founded about the fifth century near the Temple of Juno on the Capitol. Its old name was S. Maria in Capitolio, and it became known by its present one about the fourteenth century. The convent is mentioned in the year 882; in 1250 Innocent IV gave it to the Franciscan Order; previous to this date it had been held by Benedictines. It was reconstructed by Paul III, who connected it with the Palazzo Venezia by means of a covered way (only recently destroyed), along the Via della Pedacchia and the Via della Ripresa. The tower of Paul III and a great part of the convent have been destroyed to make room for the monument to Victor Emanuel (Armellini, p. 376; Marucchi, p. 258; Nibby, p. 341). Our chronicler must have counted these steps. At present there are 124. Alterations in the Piazza below them will account in all probability for the other four. The following note is interesting: 'Und vor derselben kirchen pey dem Capitolium do stet ein nodel darauf ist ein gulder knopf, do liegt Octavianus in begraben . . . un des sind in dem Capitolio in die zurstortten maur zwifeltig pogen in das neu gepey gemacht, izunt leckt' (legt) 'man das gemein saltz hin und in den geschriben ist mit sehr gar alten puchstaben und die das saltz nahet auszgessen hat; noch ein grab darein Gaius Puhlius und sein erhen darein gelegt worden, das do dy rathherrn und das volk schuffen von ir ere und tugend wegen' (Muffel, p. 52).

[2] There would appear to be some confusion in the author's mind here, and he is not certain which is the 'tower' of Augustus; the tower by the gate, or the Mausoleum (now the Augusteo). On referring to De Rossi's *Piante iconografiche di Roma*, it will be seen, in Plate IV, that the mausoleum and the tower by the gate are both marked; and, in the large plate (in sections) at the end of the book, the latter is called the 'torre dove stet̄e gran tempo il spirito di Nerone'.

[3] 'Ad portam flaminiam fecit Octavianus quoddam castellum quod vocatur Augustum, ubi sepelirentur imperatores, quod tabulatum fuit diversis lapidibus. Intus in girum est concavum per occultas vias. In inferiori giro sunt sepulturae imperatorum; in unaquaque sepultura sunt litterae ita dicentes: *haec sunt ossa et cinis Nervae imperatoris*, et victoria quam fecit; ante quas stabat statua dei sui, sicut in aliis omnibus sepulcris. In medio sepulcrorum est absidia ubi sedebat Octavianus; ibique erant sacerdotes facientes suas querimonias. De omnibus regnis totius orbis iussit venire unam cirothecam plenam de terra quam posuit super templum, ut esset in memoriam omnibus gentibus Romam venientibus' (see chapter xxiv of this part and note; Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, pp. 106–7; Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, pp. 80–1). There is a short description of the Mausoleum Augusti in

and þis name was first ȝoue to octauiane for þis skil for augeo auges is as mech to sey as to make a þink moꝛ þann it was, and because þis man mored þe empiꝛ of rome with grete conquestis yerfor þei ȝoue him þis name and mad eke on to his worchip on of þe monthis of þe ȝeꝛ to beꝛ his name. This same octauian had a special loue as it semeth on to þis ȝate and þis strete þat gooth þerby. The cause of þis specialte is alegged in a book de uiris illustribꝫ þat dominicus de arecio mad caº nero, wheꝛ he writith þus whann octauian had wedded his new wyf he bront hiꝛ hom by þis same strete and þis same ȝate. And happed as sche cam be þe weye an egle to flye ouyr hir whech had caute a white henne to his pray. The henne had in hir mouth a braunch of lanreꝛ with ripe bayes yeron, for euene as sche stood for to fede hiꝛ þe egle caute hir up and whanꝺ he had boꝛ hir but a lityl space he lette henne braunch and aꝯ faꝯ in þis ladies lappe.[1] / Mech lokyng f. 370 r was on þis and busy rounyng[2] be twix þe lordis what þis myth be tokne. The grete maystiris of swech sory sciens of magik and sorsry weꝛ councelled what þis schuld mene but þei wolde ȝeue non answeꝛ þerinne but comaunded þat þe braunche schuld be sette and þe henne kepte. And þat ȝere as writith þis man were in þat plage of rome moost plenty of hennys þat euyr men herd sey. Eke fro þat time forward in þat partie a mongis heꝛ uines þei planted many laureris and ȝet be þere many growyng in enery uine. Be foꝛ in þe chapitꝛ of ȝates we seid þat þis ȝate is cleped porta flaminea of a prouynce þat hatꝫ þe same name and þis ȝate is þe weye to þe same prouynce. This was seid þanꝺ undir auctorite of gernase and ȝet we sei þe same. But oute of þis may men sone contryue a newe colouꝛ why it is cleped flaminea. For flameum flamei[3] as seith catholicon is a kerchi or ellis a large wympil mad of red silk aꝯ þinne with whech ȝong women hid her face þat here schameful a baschid chere schuld not gretly be aspied. Lucane in his secnnd book berith witnesse of þis exposicioun wheꝛ he seith. Lutea demissis uelarunt flamea uultus. The poete seith þt with red kerchies þei hillid heꝛ schamful facis. For luteus is take in gramaꝛ both for ȝelow and red. Than conclude I þus of þis mateꝛ in as mech as þis lady rood with swech a kerchi be þis same ȝate in whech fell on to hiꝛ swech a notable

Häutle's account of the embassy of Johann Gottfried von Aschhausen, Prince Bishop of Bamberg, who visited Rome in 1612-13. It is particularly interesting, because he says that he saw the statue of Augustus and that of Agrippina the mother of Nero in the building itself (*Litterarischer Verein*, Stuttgart, 1881, p. 195 et seq.).

[1] The site of this event is the Alta Semita on the Quirinal hill, see *Bollettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1870, p. 111, 'domum positam in hac urbe regione quarta iuxta locum qui appellatur Gallinas albas' (S. Gregorii *Epistolae*, lib. III, II ep. 17, ed. Maurin, t. ii, p. 636; Priller, *Die Regionen der Stadt Rom*, 10-11).

[2] whispering, secret consultation.

[3] flammeum, a bright-coloured bridal veil.

pronosticacioun þerfor of hir ueil whech is clepid flameum cleped þei þe ȝate flamea þouȝ it weꝛ so þat it had þe same name he foꝛ.

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Of þe place cleped septisolium. caꝑ xuiii.

Septisolium[1] alsoo was a famous place it stant fast be seynt gregories monasterie a meruelous place of bildyng for in þe west side it is mad of grete aschler stones and þoo ar alꝉ to schake as þouȝ þei schuld falle. The oþir iii sides ar open with peleres of marbil so disposed þat þere he distincte uii setis he twix þese pileres and so soundith þe name of þe place,[2] for septem is seuene and solium a sete þat is for to say seuene setis. A boue þese seuene setis are oþir seuene & eke aboue þo seuene ar oþir seuene þat it is merueil who þo heuy pileres of marbil myth he caried up so hy. Of þis place he thre opynyones wherof þat it serued. The romanes sey þat þei dwelt þeꝛ þe uii wise men whech þei clepe þe uii sages. We rede þat þere weꝛ uii wise men in grece whos names he redy in cronicles. þe first hith pitacus, þe secund solon, þe þird eylon, þe fourt piriandus, þe fift cleohulus, þe sexte bias, and þe uii bienus.[3] But þese men leued not alꝉ at ones at o tyme and þouȝ þei had he at o tyme I wene þat þei come neuyr at rome. To þis sey þe romanes þat þis place was mad for oþir seuene hut þei haue not heꝛ names rydyly. Wherfoꝛ I ȝeue no grete credens to þis tale for þis cause namely for alꝉ
f. 370 v / þe grete clerkis of rome for þe most party had places of heꝛ owne as seneca

[1] The name was corrupted into Septizodium, Septidonium, and later Septemsolium, Septem Solia, Septisolium, Septa Solis, Sedes Solis, Septem Viae. For the last see Hülsen's *Anonimo Einsiellense*. In the sixteenth century, *Schola Septem Sapientium*, &c. (Jordan, *Topographie*, vol. ii, p. 511). In the *Mirabilia* it is described as the '*templum solis et lunae*', but the *Magliabecchiana MS.* says: 'Ad septem solia fuit templum omnium septem scientiarum, et posito quod aliqui velint dicere templum solis fuisse, vel domum Severi Afri; sed derivatio sua est septem artium scilicet septem omnium scientiarum domus' (Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.* p. 167). See also Graf, *Roma nella memoria*, &c., Appendix to vol. i, p. 569 et seq.

[2] 'Do ist auch das studium, darynn die siben kunst gefunden sind, und sind siben gaden' (Stockwerk) 'von seulen und sust gezirt und auf einander gesetzt gar kostlich und ist ein tempel gewest der göttin Vesta ([a]) die ein gottin des feurs gewest ist über all öffen' (Muffel, p. 58). ([a]) Vogt notes here: 'Muffel scheint hier die sog. Schola xantha und den Vestatempel für ein und dasselbe Gebäude zu halten, was unrichtig ist. Beide standen nicht einmal neben einander.'

[3] Ranulf Higden gives their names as follows: he names Thales of Miletus as the first in vol. iii, pp. 62–3, and on pp. 64–6 he adds: 'Ceteri sex sapientes tempore transmigrationis Iudaicae floruerunt, qui tamen nulla post se scripta reliquerunt. Sed quadam morum honestate homines docuerunt. Horum nomina sunt: Pittacus Mitylenaeus, Solon Atheniensis, Chilon Lacedemonius, Periandrus Corinthius, Cleobulus Lydius, Bias Prienaeus. *Valerius, libro quarto, capitulo primo, De mensa aurea.*' In the Trevisa and Harleian MSS. Bias is called Bias Pieneus or Pienus. Our author has copied the names but has omitted Thales (of whom a separate and longer account is previously given by Higden); and, to make up seven wise men, he makes two of Bias, viz. Bias and Bienus.

tulli*us* caton boys [1] and eke salustius. | An othir opinion red I in d*omi*nicus book de arecio þat it was clepid septisoliu*m* for whan*n* octauian cam hom fro alł his conquestis and was in pees with al þe world þe romanes ordeyned þeꝛ þat he was receyued with uii snndry worchippis p*er*auentuꝛ of eu*er*y sciens of þe uii libe*r*al was mad sum sp*eci*al pagent in comendacioun of þe man. | I red eke a no*þir* tale at seynt gregories monasteri be þe schewyng of an englisch monk. It was and is writyn þere þat seynt gregory occupied þis place with grete maisteris of alł seuene sciens at his cost þat what man wold com lerne ony of þe seuene he schuld frely lerne in þat place.

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Of þat place whech is clepid archus p*ri*ci tarquini. cap. xix.

Archus prici tarquinii is an othir place and in uery suyrte I wot not where it standith.[2] The descripcioun of þe place schal I write as I fynde leuynge þe soile for to be soute of hem þat wil walk and take heed moꝛ bisily þan I ded. Martyn [3] seith in his cronicle þat it stood be twix þe mount auentyn and þe grete paleys and it had as he seith too ȝates on in to þe est an o*þir* in to þe west m*er*uelonsly disposed as we schal trete aftirward. Martyn clepith þis place circus prici & þe cronicle clepith it archus prici. Archus is a arche rered for a uictouꝛ circus is a place mad for re*nny*ng of hors. This place was of ful grete beute and so m*er*uelously mad þat þouȝ þ*er*e stood neu*ir* so many m*en* þ*er*in schuld neu*ir* man lette o*þir* to see þoo games whech weꝛ ex*er*cised þeꝛ. Al a boue weꝛ arches mad with gold and p*re*cious stones and a boute þoo arches was sitti*n*g mad for women for to se þe grete dedis þat weꝛ exercised þ*er*e in the kalend *s* of may. In þe myddis of þese arches were too hy colu*m*pnes þe lesse had lxxxuii feet on heith, and þe gretteꝛ had ccxxii. Al a boue þis hy pileꝛ stood a hors of metalł gilt ful weel. And a no*þir* hors on þe o ȝate whech weꝛ made with swech

[1] ? Boethius.

[2] The author appears never to have seen this monument, hut it is shown in Plate III of De Rossi's *Piante iconografiche*, and would seem to have been close to the churches of S. Sahina and S. Alexis.

[3] The Martin here referred to is probahly Martinus Polonus, who was a native of Poland, although some authorities say that he was a Scotsman and others a Frenchman. He was of the Order of S. Dominic, and was penitentiary to John XXI and Nicholas III. The latter nominated him Archhishop of Gnesen in Poland; hut, before he could take possession of his charge, he died at Bologna, on June 27, 1278. He wrote a chronicle which was afterwards continued on to 1320, which led to the helief that he lived up to that date. But this must have heen the work of a later writer, for Martin himself says, in the preface to his work: 'Ego F. Martinus domini papae poenitentiarius & capellanus, ex diversis chronicis & gestis summorum pontificum & imperatorum, praesens opusculum usque ad Iohannem XXI papam deduxi inclusive.' John XXI died in 1277 (Moreri, *Dictionnaire historique*, Paris, 1732).

countenaunce þat it semed uerily on of hem schuld renne a geyn þe oþir. Eke al a boue þese werkis was a sete for þe emperour whann he wold see þese pleyis.[1] But aH þis is down and as I seide be foꝛ I am in doute wheþir it was þis place or nowt for þere be oþir biggingis whech to my dom[2] weꝛ moꝛ likly þan þis þat swech werkis schuld be þere.

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Of þe place bi foꝛ seint petir kirk cleped cantarus xx

There is a uoide place by foꝛ seynt petir cherch closed in al with housyng and in þe myddis þerof stant a fayꝛ disposed werk sumwhat lich a cundite. This werk þei sey mad symon magus whech was grete enmy to petir and poule and gretly meynteyned be nero thei clepe þis same werk cantarus[3] and cantarus as sey auctores is a uessel in whech men beꝛ

[1] Here the author is quoting verhatim from the '*descriptio plenaria*' of the *Mirabilia*, which he calls the chronicle in this connexion (Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, pp. 110–1: 'Circus Prisci . . . visebant ludum'). Nichols thinks the writer is referring to the Circus Maximus (Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, pp. 103–5, n. 211).

[2] 'dom', Norw. dialect = deeming, judgement.

[3] Muffel mentions the Cantharus as having heen brought by evil spirits from Troy to Constantinople, and from Constantinople to Rome. It was then placed ahove the Pantheon, and afterwards removed to the Atrium of S. Peter's. He describes it as: 'auf die vi merhlein seul gesetzt worden und ist sunst mancherley zir darumh gesetzt von eren pfahen' (pfauen) 'und tyeren darein gossen gar kostlichen' (Muffel, p. 19). 'Also wen man hin uff kompt so heist es im paradeis, da ist in der mitt ein knopff von messig gross (?) der stundt uff d'kirche Maria rotunda die weil sie was ein tempel der aptgoter da man sie weihet fürt der teuffel den knopff enweg und warff in in dye Tihur zů Rom und man hat in durch wunder her gesetzet zu einem zeychen' (*Ein Büchlin*, &c., Strasshurg, 1500, p. c ii). [Two copies of *Ein Büchlin* have been consulted. One is in the Bodleian Library, the other in the British Museum. These are apparently of two different editions. The Museum copy has the following words written on the fly-leaf: 'Auctor huius tractatus est Onophrius Pauvinius, Veronã, Italius Eremita Augustinianus, supposito nomine Stephanus Blanck, Passavianus, edidit hic librum ao 1550' (*sic*) 'occasione Iuhilaei suh Alexandro VI papatus ipsius anno 9.' When quoting from the British Museum copy the letters B.M. will he added to the title of the book in the footnotes.] As to the manner in which the Cantharus came to S. Peter's, see *Stacions of Rome*, E. E. Text Society, 1867; *Vernon MS.*, ah. 1370; and *Porkington MS.*, No. 10, ah. 1460–70, p. 20.

Uppon his heued . a couert of hras.
To seynte petres . hlowen hit was.
With a wynt of helle . as I. trouwe
For no mon mihte hit . þider haue þrowe.
þer hit stont . I. telle þe.
ȝif þou go þider . þou may hit se.

See also Graf, *Roma nella memoria*, &c., vol. i, p. 132, and n. 57. There is a description of the Cantharus in the *Mirabilia*, in which the place is called the Paradise of S. Peter (Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, pp. 105–6 and 118–19). See also Dr. Hülsen's full and interesting article on the Cantharus of old S. Peter's, and the ancient Pigna fountain (Hülsen, *Römische Mittheilungen*, 1904, p. 87 sq.).

wyn with / merth and uphap þis fals man whech was gretly exercised in f. 371 r
wischcraft and ful familiar with spiritis mad swech grete uesseles for to meue and stere. This uessel was arayed with meruelous pileris of porphiri ston with tables of fayr marbil with copir platis anameled and gilt with flouris birdis and delphuns of meruelous werk whech had dyuers spoutes rennyng with watir. In þe myddis of þis werk now stant þe pynot þat was sumtyme a curyng on to þat place clepid þoo dayes pantheon now sca maria rotunda. This pinot had sumtyme certeyn pipes of led in whech watir was caried ful sottilly to alle men þat had nede þerof. And a grete part of þt same watir was caried to þe emperouris batth[1] be sotiłł ymaginaciones but principaly be nygromancie and wischcraft of þis forseid man simon magus whech was 3oue al to swech þinggis. But now be ałł þese þingis distroyed for yere is left no þing of swech sotiltees.

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Off þe sepulturis of Romulus and Remus. caþ xxi.

Ther is eke a place be twix seynt petir cherch and castełł aungełł whech þei clepe aruagia[2] whech is as mech to say as a place in a feld for aruus in þe latyn tunge is a feld. In þis same place stant a grete hiłł mad of ston in whech romulus body lith. And þis hiłł was wallid a boute sum tyme lich a warde of a castełł with grete marbiłł stones but cristen men at comaundment of þe pope in elde tyme took a wey þoo stones & mad þerof þe grecis and þe pauiment be for seynt petir cherch. It had eke a noþir wałł

[1] The 'emperouris bath' is described by Adinolfi, in his chapter on the Acquedotto Sabbatino. It is also mentioned by Petrus Mallius, in his account of the Vatican under Alexander III, and was in the position assigned to it by our chronicler. In course of time its name was confused with that of the pilgrims' bath. It was close to the Cantharus (Adinolfi, vol. i, p. 161).

[2] Dr. Hülsen has very kindly furnished the following note: 'The word "arvagia" must be a corruption of Almachia, and the author must have had a guide-book similar to the *Anonymus Magliabecchianus*, who begins his description of the Vatican territory with the words (Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, p. 161; Jordan, *Topographie*, ii, 626): "in Almachia, id est iuxta S. Mariam Transpontinam, est meta, quae ut dicitur fuit sepulcrum Romuli". It was easy to invent the etymology from "arvum", but I find no other mention of it. The name Almachia itself is a corruption from Naumachia (see my dissertation *Il Gaianum e la Naumachia*, p. 24). The "great hill made of stone" is the Meta Romuli itself; it was believed by some authors that Pope Donus (676-8) took away the marble decorations when "atrium ecclesiae S. Petri qui est ante ecclesiam in quadriporticum magnis marmoribus stravit". See Duchesne's note to the life of Donus in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Muffel thinks that the shape of the tombs (pyramidal) was made so "in der meynung das kein hunt auf yr grab kummen soll". He also calls the bridge of S. Angelo the "donerpruck", saying: "die ander nodel stet pey der Tyber prucken die toner prucken genannt, die ein keyser fur das wetter machen liess, dem geweissagt was, das er vom weter erschlagen solt werden, und die hat ein loch oder spelunk; do ging er eins tags, do es ser heytter und schon am hymel was unter das loch; von stund an erschlug in das wetter" (Muffel, Michaeli's edition, in *Römische Mittheilungen*, 1888, p. 260, n. *).'

with outen þis as a dobil warde and fast by was a strete called tiburtineu*m* and eke a grete market place to ward þat hiłł þer̄ seynt pet*ir* was crucified but ałł is turned now ad s*er*uyth in bettir use. In þese stones of þese walles was mech grauyng of certeyn hethen stories with pecokkis and oþir birdis of metałł ful weel gilt and a bułł in þe myddis ful weel made of þe same werk whech is but wast for to speke of as now for as I seide al is chau*n*ged and turned in to bettir use. The g*ra*ue of rem*us* was touchid be for̄.

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Of þe paleis long*ing* to traiane | [1]
adr
cap̄ |

Eke þe paleys of traiane and adriane þe emp*er*our*is* was ful costful werk of metałł ad of stones with dyu*ers* memoriales of elde stories whech wer̄ longe to speke of. | But o þing in sp*eci*al was þere whech me lykith gretly to declare. For in þis place were tables of brasse in whech was wrytyn þe frat*er*nite and þe frenchip whech was mad be twix þe jewis and þe romanes in iudas machabeus tyme. And be cause þe bible spekith of þis mater̄ *yer*for wil we haue recors on þat same book and translate on to ȝow þoo wordes þat he hath p*ri*mo machaꝫ uiii. Judas machabeus he seith herd speke of þe grete name of þe romanes who þat þei wer̄ strong of power̄ and /
f. 371 v gentiłł in helping of ałł men þat wold pray hem of frenschip. Eke he herd speke of þe grete batayles whech þei had in galys [2] who þei had ouyr come hem and put hem undyr tribute and of hem of spayn who þai wer̄ obedient on to þe romanes to sende hem both gold & syluyr with oþir metallis whech ar̄ fou*n*de in þat lond. Þei herd speke eke of asie and lydie and many oþir cuntres whos kyngis & dukis þe romanes had ouyr come with power̄ and good cou*n*sełł in so mech þat whom þei wold p*re*fer̄ þei schul regne in p*ros*per*i*te and whom þe wold opp*re*sse þe schuld neuyr rise. Ferþer̄ mor̄ þat þ*er*e was no kyng a mong*is* hem ne no man usurped to wer̄ no crowne in d*omi*nacio*un* ouir þe puple but þei had cccxx cou*n*cellour*is* with whos witte ałł þese iornayes wer̄ doo, saue þat þei made sp*eci*al *com*missiou*n* to o man for o iornay or for o ȝer̄ to do c*er*teyn þing*is* at her̄ comau*n*dm*en*t. | Judas heryn̄ ałł þis worchip of hem sent on to hem his embassiatour*is* with swech a message. Of þese embassiatoures on of hem hith eupolemy þe oþir hith eleazar.[3] These too men come to rome in to þe court a mo*n*g*is* þese cou*n*selloures and swech wordes þei seide on to hem. Judas machabe and

[1] Edge of MS. cut here | for purpose of binding.
[2] Galicia.
[3] Jason, the son of Eleazar.

his bre*þrin* and eke aℓℓ þe puple of þe iewis whech dweℓℓ a boute ierlm̄ sent us hidir on to ȝou to make comenaun*t* of pees ferme and stable be twix ȝou and hem þat þei schuld be accept *in* to ȝour felawchip & ȝe schuld entre hem in ȝouꝛ memoriales as ȝouꝛ felawis and ȝouꝛ frendes. These tydynggis þat þese men brouȝ weꝛ weel accepted on to þe romanes so feꝛ forth þat þei wrote þese same comenaun*tis* in too tables of bras and on of hem remayned at rome in þe same place of whech we speke of now, and þe oþir sent þei to ierlm̄ as for a *per*petual memorye. And þis is þe sentens of þat epistiℓℓ writyn in þese tables. Euyr be it weel on to þe romanes and to þe puple of jewis both in þe se and in þe lond þe enmy and þe swerd euyr be feꝛꝛ fro hem. And if it so falle þat þ*ere* come ony grete batayle on to þe romanes or to ony oþir naciones whech are ioyned in felawchip on to hem þe puple of þe iewis schal help hem as tyme and space may serue with trewe hert and hool ent*ent*. And þe same romanes ne non þat longe on to hem schul not ȝeue on to þe iewis neþir whete ne armouꝛ ne siluyr ne schippis but þei schul help þe romanes and fite and be gouerned aftir þe romanes comaun*d*ment. Also if þeꝛ come ony batayle or ony distresse on to þe puple of þe iewis þe romanes schul[1] hem as tyme and space wil suffyr and to þoo helperes þe iewis schul neythir ȝeue whete ne armouꝛ ne syluyr ne bred as it pleseth þe romanes and þei schul kepe heꝛ comaun*d*m*en*tis with outen ony deceyt. The same romanes wrote eke on to þe pnple of iewis þat if ye romanes or ellis þe iewis list aftirward to sette moꝛ to þis writyng or lesse ony þing þat is þ*er*inne þei schul do þis at good leyseꝛ and good tyme aftir dis/posicioun of both parties and aℓℓ þat it writyn or schal f. 372 r
be writyn schal be bald grate and rate.[2]

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Of þe conk in whech constantin was baptized. xxiii.

The conk in whech constantin was baptized stant at seynt jon lat*er*anens*is* not in þe same place wheꝛ it stood in tyme of his baptem but in a litil chapeℓℓ on þe rith hand as we come in gratid aℓℓ with tymbir. This conk is hewyn owt of a blak ston schapyn lich a hol trow in whech appere ȝet þe swames of his[3] whech tyme þei feℓℓ from his body. Off þis uessel who it was arayed sum tyme spekith d*omi*nicus de arecio in his book oftyn allegged

[1] 'help' in margin of MS.

[2] The beginning and end of this chapter are taken from the *Descriptio plenaria* (Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, pp. 108-9). For the middle part see 1 Maccabees, ch. viii. An account of the church of S. Basilius will be found in Armellini, p. 151. Its old name was S. Basilio di Arco Noe, and it is very ancient. Nichols (pp. 91-3) thinks that the remains of the Basilica Ulpia are referred to as being the palace of Trajan and Hadrian.

[3] 'lepꝛ' in margin of MS.

in þis maner. That same uessel in whech constantyn was baptized þat on uulgare name is clepid a conke it was hewyn owt of a blak ston polchid as brith as geet. Whech ston constantyn in worchip of his baptem hillid with syluyr both with oute and with inne as fer as þe watir went in tyme of his wasching. In þe myddis of þe uessel he ded sette a fayr pilер of porphiri ston up on whech pilер he sette a laumpe of pure gold whech weyid lii pound and in þis laumpe all ester tyme was norchid a lith þat brent with non oþir licour but with bawme. A boue on þe brinke of þis uessel he sette a lombe al of gold whech with sotil gemetry pored watir down in to þe uesselt and þis same lombe weyid a hundred pound and lxx. In þe rith part of þe same uessel he sette an ymage of our sauyour ihū crist whech weyid a hundred pound & seuenety all of clene siluyr. And on þe lyft side of þe same uessel sette he a ymage of seynt jon baptist of þe same metall and of þe same with[1] holdyng a scrowe in his hand in whech was wrytyn ecce agnus dei ecce qui tollit peccata mundi. Eke a boute þe brynk be twix þese ymages wer sette uii bestes whech we clepe hertis ich of hem with a spoute poryng watir in to þe uesselt and ich of hem was ȝotyn of pur gold þe wite of iiii scor pound. All þese iowelles and al þis aray is now goo and a way as þis man wrytith eythir with fals couetyse of prestis whech haue mys spent it, or ellis with robbyng of tyrauntes whech haue conqwerd rome oft sythe and so þe nesselt at þis day stant naked and bar.

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Of yat place cleped omnis terra. cap̄ xxiiii.

As we goo to seynt paules stant a hill on ye rith hand whech þei clepe omnis terra and þis is þe cause whi it is clepid soo. In þat tyme þat romanes had lordchip of all þe world for þe moost party þei mad a constitucioun in her senate þat all þat puple whech was undir her dominacioun schuld brynge with her tribute certeyn pottis ful of erde summe mor summe lesse aftir þe quantite of þe regioun and þe distaunce of þe place. Þis usage lested many ȝeres and þat is sene þer for þe hill is gret and brod and at þis day if a man delue in þat hill he schal fynde all þe erde ful of schordis
f. 372 v of pottis.[2] / Up on þis hill is gret ordinaunce on fastinging sunday for þer

[1] ? weight.

[2] In a prose commentary on the *Speculum regum* of Godfrey of Viterbo (Pertz, *Script.*, vol. xxii, p. 75) we read as follows: 'Sciendum est quod imperator Antoninus Pius erat mitis et benignus, avaritiam non habens nec amans. Ideo ab omni populo romano imperio subiecto tributum accipere noluit, sed terram de omnibus regnis mundi loco tributi apportari iussit in signum obedientie et montem Rome qui dicitur omnis terre iuxta sepulcrum Remi de eadem terra fecit.' 'E trihuti venivano a Roma in vasi di terra invetriati chon diversi cholori, et questo providdono e romani per fare di ciò perpetua memoria perchè come el tributo era giunto a Roma gittavano et rompevano il vaso in uno

be grete cartis with bugles þerin for to drawe hem and þe cartis ful of swyn, | alle þis ordinaunce is sette a boue þe hiłł and þere come þe romanes with armour and swerdis in her best aray for he þat may cacch a mussel of flesch þat day he is a man for euyr. Thus sodeynly þe cartes go down and þe men be redy with speris for to gor þe bestis so what for þe grete descence and sodeyn fro þe hiłł and hurt of þe bestis and cry of þe men þe ger brekith and þe bestis are loos a ful onlikly game me þouȝ it was wher þat flesch is hewe with rusty heren[1] and summe men hurt and summe dede but þis is ber elde game whech þei can not leue.[2] A nothir game is þere of

luogbo di che apare uno grandissimo monte apresso a quella porta cbe va a Santo Pagholo dove è il sepolcro di Remo, cbe si dice la meta di Santo Pagbolo' (Libro Imperiale, iii, c. 4, *Cod. Casanat.*, d, i, 4, p. 62. Cf. Graf, vol. i, p. 153). 'Item neder wart off der seluer bant zo der stat lijcbt eyn kleyn berchelgen, Omnis terra geheysscben, ertrijch van alle der werlt. As do die Romer alle die werlt vnder sicb hadden ind eyn yeclicb lant yen tzyns ind tribuyt geuen moyst, dae sij nu goltz ind siluers genoich hatten, begerden sij van eyner jeclicher lantscbaff der gantzer werlt zo tzynse zo brengen eynen pot voll ertrijcbs van der seluer lantscbafft. Dae worffen sij die potte vol erden all off eynen bouff. Uss der mennicbueldicbeyt waert ein bercb geheysscben Omnis terra' (Ritter A. von Harff, *Pilgerfahrt in den Jahren 1496–9*, p. 21, Dr. E. von Groote, Cöln, 1860). 'Die dritt haubt kircb ist zu sant Pauls zwelffpoten usserbalb der stat by dem tbor do man usz bin get zu sant pauls ist der perg der von aller welt erdrich gemacbt ist worden. | Do di romer gûtes genûg hetten und nicht goldes oder silbers begerten do geböten sie zů geben für den zinsz | des ertrichs usz aller welt in krůgen do würffen sie di krůg uff ein hauffen usz der menig wart ein perg | ' (*Ein Büchlin*, &c., Strassburg, 1500, p. C v. See also Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, p. 143). 'Testaccio che è uno monte pocbo meno cbel (che 'l) monte di Sancto Miniato di Firenze fatto solo di vasi rotti di terra cocta ne' quali i suditi de' Romani quando signoreggiavano il mondo recavano e tributi o vero e censi et voti cbe gli erano i Romani gli facevano portare in su detto monte' (Rucellai, *Il Giubileo dell'anno santo 1450, Archiv. St. Pat.*, 1881, vol. iv, fasc. iv, p. 578).

[1] 'beren', obs. form of iron.

[2] 'La seguente Dominica (Quinquagesima) si ragunavano in Campidoglio i più nobili cittadini tutti adornati di ricche e preziosi vesti, e di là tutti insieme partivansi in pompa prendendo la via di Testaccio, ordinati nel modo seguente. Ogni Rione aveva il suo carro trionfale colla sua insegna tirato da quattro bianchi cavalli e seguito da dieci giovani giuocatori montati sopra cavalli riccamente bardati, e cadauno di essi, i quali erano de' più ricchi e nobili cittadini, accompagnato era di sei staffieri, riccamente vestiti con uniformi livree. Il Rione di Trastevere andava innanzi e seguivano così per ordine tutti gli altri. Appresso i giuocatori venivano i Capo-Rioni con dieci staffieri per ciascuno con preziose vesti e preceduti da tamburri e trombette. Seguivangli i Maestri Giustizieri, i Riformatori dello studio, i due Giudici del Senatore, il Capitano dell'appellazione, ed il putto della Giustizia. Ne venivano di poi i due Cancellieri del popolo, i Conservatori ed il Senatore, i quali accompagnavano trecento soldati a piedi col loro capitano a cavallo. Cbiudevano finalmente la pompa una folla di gentiluomini Romani e Forestieri tutti a cavallo riccamente addobbati di scarlatto e ganzo di oro. Gionta questa pompa trionfale nel Prato di Testaccio, lasciavansi dal monte tredici carri tirati dai tori, in ciascuno de' quali erano legati quattro porci, e vi s'innalzava un' asta dalla quale pendea una canna di drappo rosato. Appena giungevano i carri nel piano che quei diversi giuocatori di rione sguainate le spade vi correvano sopra per rapire i porci ed il drappo; ed urtandosi e combattendo tra loro, era questa una vera battaglia nella quale restavan feriti non pochi ed alcuna volta ancbe morti. A questa battaglia succedeva il giuoco della Cuccagna, cbe consisteva in molti travi innalzati unti di sevo, e sù di essi montava a gara la plebe per rapire le

more gentill sport for þei ridyn fro þe foot of þis hill to þe mount canale and who ride best schal haue a cloth of silk to his reward as we seyd be for whan we spoke of þe same hill.

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Of þe gouernouris *in* rome fro romul*us* on to tarq*uinius*. cap̄. xxu.

Now wil we mak recapitulacioun of all þe gouernouris of rome from romulus on to frederik and specialy in þis chapetr of þe uii kyngis þat 1 regned þer first. Romulus as we seide be fore was first kyng and gouernour of rome aftir tyme þat it was broute on to a monarchie for as we declared in

cibarie che vi erano appese, che eran di quelle procacciatesi nella cerca fatta per la città. Compivasi di poi la festa con corse di cavalli, correndosi dal monte Testaccio fino alle faldi dell' Aventino, ed il premio dei vincitori erano trenta canne di panno rosato. Non sempre questo giuoco si usava di fare nel modo istesso, ma si variava alcune volte, come pure avveniva dei giuochi che si usava di fare nella Piazza Navona, i quali erano un simile di questo, e che io per non essere soverchiamente lungo avviso non essere qui pregio di farne la descrizione' (Magni, *Discorso sopra gli spettacoli, le feste, ed il lusso degli Italiani nel secolo xiv*, Roma, 1818, pp. 28 sq.). See also Gregorovius, vol. vi, part ii, pp. 709–10 and p. 670 for Adam de Usk. In Adam de Usk's (1377–1421 A.D.) *Chronicon*, 2nd ed., 1904, by Sir E. Maunde Thompson, K.C.B., pp. 94–5 and 269–71, the following full account is found written in the year 1404: 'Romani circa Dominicam in Quinquagesima, cum capitibus regionum ad agonem, tanquam fallerata phalanx, conveniunt; et iuxta id beati Pauli dictum: "omnes quidem currunt," &c., pro bravio fortiter certant. Tres magnos anulos argenteos, ad unam altam cordam ligatos, ponunt, et in equis, ut lanceas in eos mittant, currunt, inde huiusmodi anulos habituri. In isto ludo urbis senator' (cenator in MS.), 'duo conservatores, et septem regentes eiusdem in magno apparatu, stipiti et securi pro cediciosorum decapitacione precedentibus, intersunt. Eodem ludo taberne crapula, sed miserie epula, cum indomita luxuria, ut Belial et Belfagor filii, quam bestialiter discurrunt Romani. Deinde in ipsa Dominica, Iudaeorum expensis, ad quatuor currus, octo apros vivos continentes et scarleto rubio contectos, ad summitatem montis omnis terre, ideo quia ex omni terra mundi in signum universalis dominii illuc allata compositus, octo ponuntur tauri indomiti, et, per descensum montis dissolutis curribus et bestiis liberis, omnia cedunt Romanorum in predam; et tunc quilibet ac si dissoluto impetu' (infetu in MS.) 'dictas bestias invadit suo instrumento. Itaque, si quis aliquid de huiusmodi preda uxori non attulerit, quasi miser et vecors ad Sancti Panchardi festum cum ea non coibit. Et sepius in huiusmodi discursu cedes et vulnera, et presertim curtesanis, propter uxores et filias sibi exosis, inferunt. Postea tres pannos, primum aureum pro melioribus, secundum argenteum pro secundis equis, et tercium sericum pro equabus velocius currentibus, in lancee ponuntur summitate; et, si quis huiusmodi equester prius eos tetigerit, eos pro se in bravium reportat. Et demum a dicto bestiarum incursu, aliqui cum modicis frustis, aliqui cum intestinis et stercoribus in gladiorum mucronibus, pomparum cum vilitate transeunt ad uxores.' 'Et in detto luogho si fa la domenica innanzi al carnesciale una certa festa di tori et porci con carro per memoria di certi giudei che solevano ogn' anno fare morire in tale dì' (!). 'Et in sur uno prato a piè del detto monte di Testaccio in tale dì fanno correre tre pali due con cavagli ed uno con cavalle et vannovi e caporioni con molte genti armate et a piè et a cavallo et la detta festa pagano e giudei ch' abitano a Roma che costa scudi 600' (Rucellai, *Il Giubileo dell' anno santo 1450*, *Archiv. St. Pat.*, 1881, vol. iv, fasc. iv, pp. 578–9). See also an interesting article, entitled 'The Carnival of Rome in the Middle Ages', by Count D. Gnoli, in the *Giornale d'Italia*, Rome, Feb. 22, 1909.

þe first chapeſ þere were many smale kyngis be foſ regnyng on þe smale parties. Of þis romulus both of his dedes aud his deth and eke his deite is spoke be foſ yerfor heſ it schal be left. ¶. The secund kyng at rome aftir 2
romulus was clepid numa pompilius. This man regned in rome xli ȝere in þat same tyme þat ezechie was kyng in iury. This kyng of hye prouydens ordeyned þat knytis schuld haue heſ wages of þe comown errarie þat þei schuld þe moſ absteyne fro extorsioun for mech of his tyme he had pees witȝ þe regiones þat stood a boute him. This kyng eke addid on to þe ȝere too monthis jauuari and februari for þe ȝeſ be foſ his tyme be gan at march. Eke þe first mony þat was mad of siluyr was mad be his a uys for he made þe werkmen to graue þerin his ymage and write þerin his name. And þerfor in þe latyn tonge þe name of þe money was deryued oute of þis lordis name. For nummus in latyn tunge is as mech to sey as mony and þis mannes name was numa so oute of numa cam nummus.[1] He assyned eke x wise men to write oute solon his lawes and þat þei myth be used in þat puple he sette hem in longe declaracioun in xii parties whech þei clepe bibliotekes. The names of þese men þat had þis labouſ aſ þese. Appius, Claudius, Gemicius, Ueterius, Julius, Manilius, Suspicius, Sixtus, Curacius, Romulus postumus. This last romulus postumus hath too names in þe cronicles for differens fro þe first romulus. ¶. The þirde kynge þat regned in rome hith tullius 3
hostilius and he regned eke þat same tyme in whech manasses was kyng in iude. This man . . .

Here part of the MS. has been lost.

/uerus regned uii ȝere. This man was of euel condicioun and specialy iu f. 373 r
gloteny and leachery in so mech þat he wedded his stepmodyr called iulia he deyid in þe cite whech þei clepe edissa. ¶. Thau was an emperour thei 22
clepe martinus whech regned but o ȝere for he and his son on o day lost both heſ hedis. Of þis mannes name and of þe place of his deth is grete contradiccioun a mongis þese writeres. Summe sey he hith martinus summe sey macrinus summe sey he deyed in inglond summe sey in rome aſt þis leue I to discusse a monges þe rederis of þis book. ¶. A noþir antony regned 23
aftir him a man of cursed lyf þerfor was he slayn and his modir to gidir whan he had regned iii ȝer. In his tyme lyued seynt kalixte þe pope of whom ȝe schul heſ aftir. ¶. Than was Alisaundre emperouſ whech regned xiii ȝeſ. This man be in stauns of his modir mammeas and teching of origene whech cam to rome to couerte hiſ, was mad so good on to cristen men þat

[1] Compare Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. iii, pp. 72–4, as regards Numa's invention of money.

he suffered hem to haue heꝛ counccllcs and heꝛ prayeris be hem self. Neuirþelasse in his tyme þe schrewed officeres of his killid many martires seynt urbane cecile tiburce and ualeriane. ¶. Maximianus regned yanꝺ iii ȝeꝛ summe hokis calle him maximinus. Ther is no gret wrytyng of þis man but þat for mis gouernaunce he was slayn and his son eke whech was but ȝong of age. ¶. Aftir him was gordian emperouꝛ ui ȝeꝛ he regned and slayn he was eke aftir he cam fro perse. In his tyme lyued þat grete writeꝛ often allegged in hokes þei clepid him affricanus. ¶. Philippe þe eldeꝛ regned yanꝺ and philippe his sone aftir him þe regne of hem both is counted to gidir for þei regned but uii ȝere. Thei hoth weꝛ baptized of a martir þei clepe poncius and aftirward slayn of þe hoost on of hem at rome þe othir at uerone. Thei heqwoth in hir deth all heꝛ tresouꝛ on to seynt sixte whech was pope[1] þat tyme þat he schuld dispose þis good to þe worchip of god and sustenaunce of poꝛ men and seynt laurence at assignacioun of his mayster sixte departed þis tresouꝛ aboute rome whech was grete cause of
28 his martyrdam. ¶. Decius was next emperouꝛ a wise man of weꝛ but to cristen men an odious tyraunt. For philippe þe eldeꝛ sent him in to fraunce he cause þei rebelled & whau he herd sey þat deciꝰ had redressed all þing weel & was comyng homward a geyn he for to do him a singuleꝛ worchip met with him at uerone and sone aftir þe same decius killid his lord a slepe in his bed. This herd sey þe ȝongeꝛ philippe þat was at rome he took þann al þis tresouꝛ to seynt sixt. Of þis decius is mech strif in cronicle for sum sey þat seynt laurence was not in his tyme and it is excused þus þat þis man is clepid decius cesar & not deciꝰ imperator so he þat exposicioun þere weꝛ too. Summe othir men say þat galiene þe emperouꝛ hith deciꝰ alsoo.
29 ¶. Ualeriane was aftir him and he regned with his son galiene xu ȝeꝛ. This man was manly in þe beginning but aftirward he was ȝoue to uice and
f. 373 v mech/wrecchidnesse and so was his son galiene. Summe auctoris sey þat be foꝛ þese too weꝛ oþir too emperouris whech þei calle gallus and uolusianus. I suppose þat þei regned but litil tyme and þerfor þe writeres charged not her hokes with them, or elles þei were emperouris extraordinari. For we rede of swech many of on glodius þat was a oribile etere and drynkeꝛ and of an othir diadumeus þat was as þei sey boꝛ with a cappe on his heed. This ualerianus of whom we spoke went in to perse and þere for þe grete blood of martires whech he had spilt was taken of þe kyng of perse whan he had take him he put oute both his eyne and kepte him to þis office þat whan so euyr he schuld ride þis ualerian schuld ly down and he schuld set his feet on his hak whan he wold take his hors. This say and herd galiene his son

[1] From this point in the MS. the word 'pope' is frequently erased, so as to make it illegible. Wherever this occurs in future the word will be marked thus: 'pope*'.

þat was left at rome and þat caused þat he was not so cruel to cristen men as he was be fore. ¶. Aftir þese regned claudius þe secund i ȝere and uiii 31
monthes. This man aftir a uictori whech he had in macedony was sone deed.
¶. Thanꝺ aftir him regned quintilius his broþir but uii dayes for he was 32
slayn a non. ¶. Aurelianus was þo emperouꝛ and in his tyme cristen men 33
had mech persecucioun most special in fraunce for þere was he him selue &
exercised mech tyrannye and þat fairꝛ cite whech þei clepe orgliaunce he
named it aftir him. ¶. Tacitus was þanꝺ a wis man and a redy but sone 34
ded he regned þerꝛ uii monthis. ¶. Thann regned on probus ui ȝer and 35
iii monthis. He was bore in perse as summe men sey but þe trewerꝛ opinioun
is þat he was a roman. In his tyme roos þat heresi whech þei clepe maniches
of a prince of hem cleped manes a geyns whom seynt austen laboured ful
strongly and þat in many bokis. ¶. Tho regned clarus and his too sones 36
carinus and numerianus but sone werꝛ þei ded þe faderꝛ was drenchid in 37
a watir þe o son killid in his bed þe othir sone ded but it is not expressid 38
on what wise. Aꝉ þese iii regned but too ȝere. ¶. Diocleciaun cam aftir 39
hem and maximian þe on regned on þe est þe oþir in þe west. The first 40
þing þis diocleciaun ded he brent aꝉ þe cristen bokes þat myth be founde.
These too tyrauntis ded most harm on to cristen men þan euyr did ony oþir
for x ȝere lested her persecucioun for as we redyn with inne xxx dayes
xx þousand men werꝛ slayn for cristis cause a mongis whech werꝛ seynt
anastase and sebastiaun and many oþir. ¶. Galerius regned aftir with on 41
constancius, galerius in þe est, constancius[1], so was þe empirꝛ at þoo dayes 42
dyuyded. This constaunce aftir tyme þat he had conquered aꝉ spayn he
went in to grete brytayn and þere he wedded heleyn a kyngis doutyr
of whom he be gate grete constantyn and þis same constauncius deyid in
britayn & is byryed at ȝork as martyn seyth. Grete constantine regned 43
xxx ȝere x monthis and xi dayes. This man brout cristen men to herꝛ liberte
& ȝaue hem leue to bilde / cherches to þe worchip of god. Summe cronicles f. 347 r
slaundir him and sey þat in þe last ende of his lyf he schuld be peruerted to
þe heresy of þe arianes but þis oppinioun is a geyn seynt gregori in his
registerꝛ, and seint ambrose up on þe psalmes, and ysidre in his cronicle,
whech aꝉ sey þat he ended wel. The grekis eke sey of him as of a seynt
for his fest fallith þe xxi of may. We schal write of him mech morꝛ in þe
secund book whan we schul declarꝛ þe werkis þat he mad. ¶. Constantinus 44
þe secunde regned with his too breþrin xxxiiii ȝer and in his last ende was he
peruerted to þe heresi of þe arianes be a bischop called eusebi so þat summe
men slaunder þe fadir for þe son be cause þei had both o name. The ende of
þis man was þis as he schuld go in constantinople to a grete counceꝉ in whech

[1] 'in þe west' in margin of MS.

he had þout to a *con*dem*p*ned þe bischoppis and clerkis of trewe by leue he went be foꝛ to a chambir to a uoyde swech þing as natuꝛ[1] and þ*er*e sodeynly his boweles felle fro him and he sone ded. This same ende had arry[2] eke
24 as we rede. ¶. Julian*us* apostata was next him and he regned too 3er & uiii monthis he was clepid apostata for he fled þis constan*t*in whech killid his broþir and for feꝛ of deth was mad a monk but aftirward be coun*c*eł of a nygroman*c*er he asked of þe deuele wheþir he myth be emp*er*ouꝛ or nowt and þe spirit answerd þat he schuld be emp*er*ouꝛ o condicioun þat he schuld forsake his cristendam & be uttir enmye on to cristen men. And so was he for he 3aue leue to þe iewes þat þei schuld bilde a geyn þe temple of ierlm̄ and fro cristen men he took ał heꝛ godes undir colouꝛ of þat clause.[3] ¶. Iourmanus regned aftir him but uiii monthis for whan iulian was ded þe hoost chase him emp*er*ouꝛ and he seide it was not leful to a cristen man to be lord ouyr so many hethen men. Thei answerd rather þanm̄ he schuld forsake þe empiꝛ þei wold be cristen ał. Thus took he þat dignite but sone was he ded and in meruelous maneꝛ. For he was leyd after his iornay in a cloos hous ał of stone newly whitid with lym in whech þei mad on to his coun*f*ort as þei þout a fiꝛ of chaꝛ cole and of þe eyir of þese too in þe morow he was fou*n*d deed. ¶. Aftir him regned ualentinian with his broþir ualent for he departed þe empiꝛ and 3auc his broþir þe est and kept him selue þe west. This ualentinian*us* was a lord wit3 iuliane apostata and happed him on a tyme for to go in to a temple of fals goddis for to do sacrifise and mi*n*istres stood þ*er*e with watir halowid aftir heꝛ[4] with whech þe stre*n*g[5] lordis. This ualentinian*us* smet þe mi*n*ister þat þrew watir up on him and seid he was rather defiled þ*er* by þan clensed. Be cause of þat julian ded him exile but ouꝛ lord god for his open *con*fession of his name rewarded him with þe empiꝛ. His broþir ualent feł in to þe oppinyon of arianes & deyid in þat heresi. This same ualent lyued iiii 3eꝛ after ualentinian*us* with gratiane and a nothir ualentinianm̄ þe 3onger. In þis tyme lyued seynt
f. 374 v ambrose. ¶. Gra*t*ian with his breþ*r*in ualenti/nian þe 3onger and eke with theodosi*us* regned ui 3eꝛ. In his tyme were cherches oppened a geyn & cristen men had leue to renewe goddis seruyse whech þingis weꝛ defended
40 by foꝛ at comaun*m*en*t* of emperouris infect with heresie. ¶. Theodosie regned aftir him with þis 3o*n*g ualentiniane. This man distroyed þe temples of maume*n*trye and in his tyme eke seynt ierom tra*n*slate þe bible and

[1] 'requirit' in margin of MS.

[2] ? Arius.

[3] There is a marginal note, in another hand, which says: 'in þe gospel nisi quis renu*n*ciaver*i*t om*n*ibus q*uae* possid*et* no*n* potest me*us* esse discipu*l*us.'

[4] 'gise' in margin of MS.

[5] 'lid þe' in margin of MS. ? sprinkled the.

seynt ambrose mad þe ympnis, and seynt austen was *conuer*ted. This man faut a geyn his enmyes moꝛ with orison and prayeꝛ þan with swerd. He regned xi ȝere. He deyid at melan and biried at constantinople. ¶. Archa- 41
di*us* and honori*us* regned xiii ȝeꝛ and in heꝛ tyme rome was wel ny distroyed be a kyng clepid alaricus of whech destruccio*un* roos a gret blaspheme of þe romaues for þei seide þat þei ferd neuyr weel sith crist cam to rome & be raute hem heꝛ godd*is* be þe *pre*ching of petir and poule. A geyn þis blaspheme seynt austin mad þat solempne werk whech we clepe de ci*ui*tate dei. ¶. Honorius aftir þis with theodosi*us* his bro*þir*is son regned xu ȝere a man 42
of holy lyf for too wyues had he and þei deyed hoth maydenes. He loued spe*ci*aly þe cherch & hated gretly he*re*tikes. In his tyme deyid seynt ierom at hethlem þe ȝere of his age lxxxxi. ¶. Theodosius þe ȝong*ir* with 43
ualentiniane his neue regned xxuii ȝere. In his time was þe fest ordeyned whech is clepid ad uincla sc̄i petri. In his tyme deyed seynt austyn þe ȝer of his age lxxui. In his tyme weꝛ reisid be miracle þe uii sleperes whech had slept cc ȝere. This man deyid at constantinople and þe*re* is he biried. ¶. Marcianus & ualentinianus regned uii ȝere in whos tyme was holde þe grete 44
counceⁱˡ calcedonens*is* wheꝛ þe he*re*tikes euticen & dioscorus weꝛ condempned. | xi þousand uirgines at coloyn weꝛ martirized in his tyme but not he him. ¶. Leo þe first regned xuii ȝere. In his tyme were þe rogaciones 44
ordeyned be for þe ascensiou*n* of seynt mamert hischop of uyenne. The pope* eke of rome at þat tyme hith leo eke with whom was a notable clerk and notary on to him þei calle him *pro*sper whose bokes we haue to gret lernyng.[1] ¶. Zeno aftir þat regned xu ȝere in whos tyme þe hodies of seynt mathew þe 46
eu*an*gelist and seynt harnabe þe apostel weꝛ fou*n*de and wit ȝ hem þe gospel þat seynt mathew wrot. ¶. Anastasius aftir him regned xxui ȝere. In his 47
tyme weꝛ many he*re*tikes of þe arianes oppiniou*n* sodeynly ded on olimpius at cartage and a noþir harahas whech was gret confusiou*n* to þat erreuꝛ and confirmaciou*n* on to us. ¶. Iustin*us* aftir him regned ix ȝer. This mau 48
with aⁱˡˡ his myth laboured to distroye heresi in þe cherch to whom eke fro rome jon þe pope* went on to const*an*tinople for to gete grace þat arrianes schuld haue heꝛ cherches a geyn at instau*n*ce of a tyrau*n*t called theodoric*us* aud þat same cite was ful glad to se goddis uikeꝛ uisite hem whech had not ofte be seyn be foꝛ. ¶. Iustiniane cam aftir þis man and / he was first taute f. 375 r

[1] S. Prosper of Aquitaine or Guienne was the secretary of Pope S. Leo. He is said by some to have been Bishop of Reggio; by others, of Riez in Provence. He died a little after 455, and was buried at Riez, in a church which he had built and consecrated to S. Apollinaris. What remains of his works has been published at Lyon in 1539, at Louvain in 1566, at Douai in 1577, at Cologne in 1609 and 1630, and at Paris in 1711. The last is said by Moreri to be the best edition (Moreri, *Dictionnaire historique*).

with a bischop of þe arrianes secte alle þe erroures þat longe to þat heresie. But aftirward be þe mercy of oure lord and bysy labouꝛ of þe pope * cleped agapitus he was turned fro þat heresy in to þe trewe feyth. This is þe same man þat gadered aꝉ þe lawe cyuyle Institues Code and Digest. He mad eke þe grete temple at constantynople whech þei clepe sc̄e sophie. He regned in þat empiꝛ xxxuiii ȝere. ¶. Iustinianus þe secunde regned xi ȝere. In his tyme itayle rebelled a geyns him. þe capitayne of þis rebellioun was on narces with a grete multitnde of lumbardis. þe cause þat sophie þe emperesse hated him and þat mad him to fle in to lumbardye and rere þe powꝛ be foꝛ seyd. ¶. Tiberius regned aftir him uii ȝere lasted his regne. This man ȝaue grete good in almesse for cristis loue so ferforth þat he was falle in grete pouert but aftirward releued be a grete tresouꝛ founde in partie be myracule. ¶. Mauricius regned aftir him xx ȝere euene. In his tyme was seynt gregorie pope * be whom inglond was neuly conuerted on to þe feith. ¶. Than regned focas whech graunted leue to pope * boneface þat þe temple mad in worchip of aꝉ goddis schuld be consecrate to aꝉ seyntis. This temple hith now sc̄a maria rotunda. ¶. Eraclius regned aftir him xxxi ȝere. This man killid þe kyng of perse cosdre and browt þe holy crosse on to ierlm̄. In his tyme eke regned þat cnrsed prophete machomete. ¶. Constantinus tertius regned aftir him xxuii ȝere. This was eraclius son and deceyued with þe same heresie with whech his fader was deceyued þe heresy is cleped monachelitarum þei seid þat in crist was bnt o wiꝉ. The feith puttith too in crist on to þe godhed a noþir to þe manhod. ¶. Constantinus quartus son to þe forsaid man regned aftir his fader xuii ȝere. This lord hated þat his fader loued and was ful bysy for to distroye þat heresy whech was meynteyned be his fader. For be his comaundment was gadered þe sexte counseꝉ at constantinople of cc bischoppis iiii score and ix whech aꝉ diffyned þat þere weꝛ in crist to willis as is seid be fore. ¶. Iustinianus þe secund, son to þe same constantyne regned aftir his fader x ȝere. He went fro his fader steppes & ȝaue fauouꝛ to heresy wherfor ouꝛ lord suffered him to be exiled in to an yle þei clepe tersone first priuyd both of his nase and eke of his tunge. In his tyme lyued bede. ¶. Leo þe secund regned iii ȝere whom tiberius exiled in to þe ilde cleped tersona first cuttyug his nase and his tunge. The same tiberius regned aftir him uii ȝere whom þe forseid iustinianus þat was exiled kyllid. ¶. Philippe þe secunde regned a ȝeꝛ and ui monthis. He distroyed aꝉ þe ymages of criste or of seyntis whech he fond oþir þingis of him rede we nowt. ¶. Anastasius þe secund regned iii ȝeꝛ.

f. 375 v This / man killid þe forscid philippe wherfor þe knytis of his hoost deposed
Λ3 him & mad him a preest. ¶. Theodosius þe þirde was intronized be þe same
Λ4 knytis a good man and pesible he regned o ȝeꝛ. ¶. Than regned Leo iii

xxu ȝeꝛ whech deyed in þat same errouꝛ whech sufferith non ymages to be honowred. In his tyme was þe body of seynt austyn translate fro sardyny to papie. ¶. Constantinus u yis mannes son both in natuꝛ and in maneris regned xxxu ȝere. Aftir him regned leo iiii whech desired a crowne owt of a cherch and whan he had it on his hed a non a feueꝛ took him and mad an ende of him. ¶. Tho regned constantinus ui ȝeres x. In his tyme was gadered þe grete counceꝉ at nycene of ccc & 1 faderis in whech þe crede was mad whech we singge at masse. ¶. Aftir him regned nicephorus ix ȝere. ¶. And yanne michael ii ȝere whech was good and trewe of condicioun. Than came charles called þe grete in to þe empiꝛ. This man at comaundment of adriane þe pope * went in to ytaile & took on desideri lord of þat cuntꝛ led him prisoneꝛ in to fraunce and aftirward at prayer of þe pope and þe romanes took up on him þat empiꝛ. He regned euene xiiii ȝeꝛ. ¶. Lodewik son of þe same karolus regned xxu ȝeꝛ. In his tyme weꝛ þe bokis of seynt denys translate. Lotharius ius regned aftir him x ȝere. In his tyme was seynt heleyn modir to constantine translate from rome in to fraunce. Lodewicus iius regned aftir him xxi ȝeꝛ. Carolus iius whech was cleped caluus regned aftir him iii ȝer and ix monthis. ¶. Than carolus iiius whech was cleped grossus regned xii ȝere. ¶. Than arnulphus xii ȝere. ¶. Than lodwicus iiius ui ȝere. ¶. Than berengarius ius. In his tyme was þat abbey foundid whech þei clepe clunacensis we calle it cloyne. Heꝛ cesed þe frensch blod to regne and þe almaynes be gunne. ¶. Conrardus ius regned uii ȝeꝛ summe men anowbir him nowt a mongis þe emperouris be cause he was neuir confermed be þe pope.* ¶. Berengarius iius regned þanñ uiii ȝere. ¶. Than regned herry þe kyng xuiii ȝeꝛ in almayne but not in itaile þerfor is he not anoumbired a mongis emperouris. ¶. Berengarius iiius regned aftir him uiii ȝere. ¶. Octo primus regned yanñ xxxui ȝeꝛ. He weddid as we fynde þe sister of adelstan kyng of ynglond. ¶. Octo iius regned xx ȝere he went to rome and þere was crowned of pope* benedicte. ¶. Than regned octo iiius xix ȝere. ¶. And þanñ henricus ius xii ȝere. ¶. Than conrardus primus xx ȝere. This man was meruelously comaunded to be slayn whil he was ȝong and be grete miracle saued but þe story is long. ¶. Aftir him regned henricus iius xuii ȝere. In his tyme was berengarie in fraunce condempned & conuicte of heresie as it is conteyned in þe decrees distꝰ ii ego berengarius. And in his tyme was mad þe grete uiage to ierlm̃ whan godfrey of boloyn was mad kyng / þere. ¶. Henricus iiius regned xlix ȝere. In his tyme was grete pestilens þorw oute þe world. In his tyme eke was found þe speꝛ þat ouꝛ lord was wounded with. ¶. Henricus iiiius son to þis man regned xu ȝeꝛ. Aftir tyme he was intronized be sufferauns of his fader he put his fader in prison & kept him þere til he

deyed. In his tyme lyucd hugo de sc̄o uictor̄ at parys.[1] ¶. Conrardus þe secunde regned xu ȝere he mad a ful solempne iornay in to þe holy lond at instans of seynt bernard. ¶. Fredericus primus regned xxxuii ȝere. He was crowned at seynt petres in rome and aftir took his iornay in to þe holy lond and deyid þere. For in his dayes was ierlm̄ take oute of cristen mennis handis. ¶. Henricus uus regned uiii ȝer̄ he conquered in his tyme þe regiones both of cicile and of neaplis. ¶. Aftir him regned Octo iiius. He regned but iiii ȝere for all þe princes of almayne fouten a geyn him with frederik at comaundment of þe pope * cleped honorius. Aftir him regned fredericus iius ȝeres xxiii. This man was grete enmy to þe cherch in so mech þat he was deposed be þe pope * and aftirward leued a wrecchid lif and had deth lich on to his lyf and her̄ wil we mak an ende of þis partie of our̄[2] as we promised and go streith on to þe secund part which schal trete of þe spiritual tresor̄ of rome.

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Here beginnyth þe secunde part whech tretith of þe cherchis in rome and of þe spirituale tresour̄ conteyned in hem.

Prologus.

Ther̄ is grete questioun a mongis studious men whi rome hath swech grete pryuylege þat þe hed of alle cristendam schuld dwelle þer̄ as for þe most part and alle þe cherchis of cristendam schuld obeye þat cherch as for a principal moder and norcher̄ of oure feith. Summe men sey it was conuenient þat þere schuld god be principaly honoured wher̄ he was principaly despised and þat cyte whech was heed of all errour̄ schuld be mad aftirward heed of all lernyng. So can oure lord as seith seint austin make his gode þingis of our̄ euele. Othir men be þer̄ þat grounde hem in þe gospell wher̄ our̄ lord ȝaue power̄ plenarie on to seynt peter in whech þei sey is conteyned þat he was mad prince and principal ouyr all þe apostelis so þei conclude þat þow þe cherch of antyoche be elder̄ of tyme þe cherch of rome is worthier of dignyte. A othir cause is rehersed of grete constantine whech mad aftir his baptem certeyn lawes euyr for to be kepte of whech lawes þis was on, þat lich as þe emperour̄ of rome is lord and principall ouyr all kyngis so þe bischop

[1] Hugo de S. Victor, a celebrated theologian, and Prior of S. Victor in Paris, devoted himself to a religious life at the age of eighteen, in the year 1115. He died in 1142. He taught theology from the year 1130 with such success that he was called the 'second Augustine'. His works have been published at Paris in 1526, at Venice in 1588, at Mainz in 1617, and at Rouen in 1648 (Moreri, *Dictionnaire historique*).

[2] 'book' in margin of MS.

of rome schuld be *prin*cpal ouyr all bischoppis. We fynde also iu bokys þat þe cherch of constantinople *pre*sumed for to be *prin*cipal of all þe world and for þat *pre*sum*p*cioun pope * boneface þe iiii mad suggestion to þe emp*er*ouꝛ / cleped focas þat he schuld sette sum remedy in þis mateꝛ. And he f. 376 v ordeyned þat þe cherch of seynt petir at rome schuld be in name & in auctorite *prin*cipall of all þe world. Men þink ferþ*er*more of grete reson þat it schuld be soo for þe multitude of martires whech spilt heꝛ blood in confirmacioun of ouꝛ feith in þat same place. Than wil we speke of þis holy place and of þe dyu*er*s parcellis of þis place undir þis forme. First of þe seuene cherchis whech be cleped *prin*cipal. Thanꝺ of all þoo cherchis in whech þe staciones be holde in lentoꝺ or esterne. Last of all þoo cherchis whech be hald in ony fame as ferforth as ouꝛ rem*em*berau*n*ce may atteyne.

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Off ¶ seynt petir cherch.[1] capꝰ i.

Seynt petir cherch stant on þe west side of rome nowt in rome for it is a cyte be þe selue þat and þe popes * paleys and castell au*n*gell & a strete with iii cherches and an hospital. This same cyte in elde cronicles is clepid ci*u*itas leonina. This cherch of seynt petir is gret and long and hath many dyu*er*s houses hangyng up on him. The length is xxii pileres be twix eu*er*y pileꝛ is xii fete of space and eu*er*y pileꝛ *con*teynyth iiii fete of þiknesse so aꝛ þere of þo spacis of xii fete xxiii, be side oþir pileres whech ca*m* out of salamones temple of whech iiii stande on side and iiii on þe oþ*ir* and iiii ouyr whert[2] be for þe auter.[3] Or we come at seynt petres þ*er*e be greces[4] of marbil whech aꝛ as brood as al þe cherch of su*mm*e me*n*nys passe þei are of length luiii for so brood is þe cherch þat is to seye þe body with iiii eles too on eythir side. A passe *con*teynyth u fete aftir þe mesure of gemetry whech

[1] The Basilica of S. Peter, according to tradition, is over an oratory built by Pope Anacletus to mark the site of the Apostle's tomb. The original basilica was founded by Constantine in 306, and rests in part upon the walls of Nero's circus. The existing church was commenced in 1450 by Nicholas V, and dedicated by Urban VIII in 1626. The nave was finished as early as 1612. The work made little progress, however, until it was undertaken energetically by Julius II in 1506, with Bramante as architect. Raphael, Sangallo, and Michelangelo succeeded him; the façade was designed by Maderno, and the dome completed by Giacomo della Porta.

[2] Overthwart = athwart, transversely.

[3] 'Appresso all' altare maggiore sono colonne sedici di marmi bianchi storiate alquanto rotonde molto gentili che si dice venneno di Gerusalem' (Rucellai, *Il Giubileo dell' anno santo 1450*, *Archiv. St. Pat.*, 1881, vol. iv, fasc. iv, p. 567). Another authority of the same period says there were fourteen pillars from Solomon's Temple, two of which were by the altar of the Vernacle, the others in the choir (Muffel, p. 21).

[4] Steps.

is *con*ucnie*n*t here. These greces be in nou*m*bir xxix,[1] and as oftyn as a man goth up on þese greces be cause of deuocio*un* as oftyn hatȝ he for eu*er*y gre uii ȝere of indulgens grau*n*ted of alisau*n*dre þe pope * as we fynde writin iu elde reme*m*berau*n*ce. With inne þe cherch of seynt petir be iiii score auteres and uiii[2] and to euery auctē is grau*n*ted pardon of xxuiii

[1] Muffel says that the numher of steps leading up to the basilica was twenty-eight; they appear to have been increased to thirty-five under Paul II (1464–71) (Muffel, p. 18 and n. 5).

[2] There is a strange diversity in the accounts given by various mediaeval authors as to the number of altars in S. Peter's; also as to whom the seven head altars were dedicated. Here follow the statements made hy some of the writers most frequently quoted in these footnotes. Muffel (p. 25) says there were 105 altars and that the principal altars were dedicated as follows: (1) S. Simon and S. Jude, (2) S. Gregory, (3) S. Andrew, (4) S. Leo, (5) The Holy Cross, (6) our Lady, (7) The Vernacle. Ritter von Harff (p. 22) says that there were 100 altars, and that the principal ones were dedicated to (1) the Trinity, (2) All Souls, (3) S. Gregory, (4) our Lady, (5) S. Leo, (6) S. Lucian, (7) the Vernacle. *Ein Büchlin*, Strasshurg, 1500, says there were 100 altars, and agrees with von Harff as to the dedication of the principal ones (see pp. C ii v and C iii). Adam de Usk, who was an official of the Papal court, gives the principal altars (on page 354) as follows: (1) S. Peter, (2) the Holy Cross, (3) the Vernacle, (4) S. Gregory, (5) S. Fahian and S. Sebastian, (6) S. Leo, (7) S. Andrew. A MS. *Bodl. Digby* 196, folio 10, entitled *Descriptio urbis Rome cum indulgenciis*, gives a total of 89, and says that the principal altars were (1) Sudarium, (2) S. Simon and S. Jude, (3) S. Gregory, (4) our Lady, (5) S. Andrew, (6) S. Leo, (7) Holy Cross. The *Porkington MS.*, E. E. Text Society, 1867, p. 30, gives 100 altars, and adds: 'But vii hyn moche and most of dygnyte, þat is to say, furst on þe right hond ys þe aut*ur* of þe vernacull*e*. ¶. The ij of þe honoure of oure lady: The þred of seynt Symon and Jude: The iiii of cent androw: The v of sent gregorye, and *þer* he lythe: The vi of sent leoo þe pope: The vii of þe holly cross, and *þer*in commythe no woman.' The *Vernon MS.* (1370), E. E. Text Society, 1867, vol. xxv, p. 2, on the *Stacions of Rome*, says:

In þat Munstre . men may fynde.
An hondred Auteres . hiforen and hehynde.
. . . . . .
¶ Among ye Auters . seuene *þer* be.
More of grace . and dignite.
¶ þe Auter of þe vernicle is on.
Up-on þe riht hond . as þou schalt gon.
¶ þe secunde . in þe honour of ur ladi is.
¶ þe þridde . of seynt Symon and Jude I.-wis.
¶ þe Feorþe . of seint andreuȝ . þou schalt haue.
¶ þe Fiſþe of seint gregori . *þer* he lyth *in* gra*u*e.
¶ þe Sixte . of seint leon þe pope.
þer he song masse . in his cope.
¶ Of seint Crois . þat seuenþe is.
In wȝuche, no wo*m*mon schal come*n* I.-wis.

It will be observed that the two English authors agree, as do the two Germans; but that the two nationalities differ widely from each other. But one of the two English MSS. is much earlier than the other authorities; the dates heing: *Vernon MS.* ahout 1370, *Porkington MS.* ahout 1460-70, Muffel 1452, Von Harff 1496–9, *Ein Büchlin* 1500. The date of the *Digby MS.* (Bodleian) is not mentioned, but it is ahout 1450 to 1475. Rucellai says: 'In detta chiesa sono novansei (96) altari dove si dice messa' (*Il Giubileo dell' anno santo 1450*, *Archiv. St. Pat.*, 1881, vol. iv, fasc. iv, p. 567. *Il Giubileo dell' anno santo* is from the Zihaldini quaresimale which Giovanni Rucellai, merchant and citizen of Florence,

ȝere þat day þat þe seynt fallith to whech seynt þe auteꝛ is consecrat this same indulgens durith be þe octaue of þe same fest. Seuene aucteres be þeꝛ of principal auctorite. The auteꝛ of þe uernacle, þe auteꝛ of ouꝛ lady, þe auteꝛ of seynt gregory, þe auteꝛ of þe apostoles simon and iude, þe auteꝛ of seynt andrew, þe auteꝛ of seynt leon and seynt cruce wheꝛ women enter not. To ech of þese is graunted tociens quociens uii ȝere indulgens. In þe fest of e anunciacioun of ouꝛ lady who so euer uisite þis cherch hath of indulgens a mł ȝere, on maunde þursday a mł ȝere. In euery feest of seynt petir a mł ȝere. In þe dedicatioun of þe cherch whech falleth in þe octaue of seynt martyn uii mł ȝere & þe þirde part remissioun of alł synne. Whann so euyr þe uernacle is schewid iii mł ȝere is graunted to þe romancs. | And to hem alle þat dwelle ouyr þe mowntis / ix mł ȝere. | And to þoo þat f. 377 r dwelle be þishalue þe mowntis xii mł ȝeꝛ.[1] But ȝe schal undirstand þat in þe cite of rome resten uiii bodies of þe aposteles. In seynt petir cherch is half þe body of petir and half of poule incinerat saue ye bones and þe oþir half of þe same is at seynt poules. Also in þe cherch of seynt petir are simon & iudas lying a boue in þe wałł, þe oþir iiii apostelcs schul be teld of aftirward. In þe same cherch lith seynt gregory þe pope *, seint leon þe pope *, seint ion crisostom bischop of constantinople, þe holy martires processus & martinianus,[2] seynt petronilł and oþir mo. ¶. Of þe holy uernacle wil

ordered to he written in 1459, and which remained until receut times in the possession of the family of the same name. It then passed into other hands, and an extract from it was published in 1872 hy John Temple-Leader, an Englishman, then resident in Florence, who had acquired it (see *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 1881, vol. iv, fasc. iv, p. 563, n. 1). While on the suhject of the altars in S. Peter's, it is interesting to note a fact which Muffel states. He says that at the high altar are *now* (1452) the ancient pictures of S. Peter and S. Paul, which were shown by S. Silvester to Constantine, in order to ascertain whether they were the persons who had appeared to him in his dream (Muffel, p. 24; see also Nichols, *Marrels of Rome*, pp. 123 and 132). He says: 'The picture yet standith in the altar wall ahove the high altar' (of S. John Lateran). This passage occurs in a *Cod. Vat.* 4265 (*Mirabilia*), of the fourteenth century.

[1] In the *Vernon MS.* ahove mentioned (on p. 3), the Indulgences at S. Peter's are said to he as follows: At S. Peter's altar every day twenty-eight years. From Holy Thursday to Lammas, 14,000 years. On the date of the consecration of the church 14,000, and one-third remission of sins. When the Vernacle was shown, 3,000 years to Romans, 9,000 to other people, 12,000 to those that cross the sea to go on pilgrimage to Rome. According to Rucellai, there was, on the occasion of the juhilee of 1450, plenary remission of all sin for penitents who stayed in Rome for at least fifteen days, and visited every day the four Churches of S. Peter, S. Paul, S. John Lateran, aud S. Mary Major (*Il Giubileo dell' anno santo 1450, Archiv. St. Pat.*, 1881, vol. iv, fasc. iv, p. 563).

[2] SS. Processus and Martinianus are believed to have heen haptized by S. Peter in the Mamertine prison, on which occasion a spriug miraculously appeared in the floor of the prison for the purpose of the rite. S. Gregory speaks of their martyrdom in *Hom.* 32, n. 7. There was a church of their name outside the Porta Aurelia, and S. Lucina founded a cemetery under it. Their remains were at first laid to rest in this place; but, under

we speke now.[1] Sum*m*e me*n* clepe it þe sudary of crist. Of þis same grete relik spekith geruasius in his book yat he mad de ociis imp*er*ialibus. He seith þere þat þis woman þat had þis sudary in whech crist wipt his face whan he went to his passiou*n* was martha whom he had cured eke fro þe flux of blood whech sche had suffered xii ȝere, and on uolusianus frend on to tibery þe emp*er*ou*r* whan he herd sey at ierlm þat þis woman had þis sudary he caused hi*r* for to come to rome with the same sudary þat þe emp*er*ou*r* with *con*templaciou*n* of þe face myth be hool of certeyn seknesse þat he had. This was do in dede for a non as he sey þe face of ihū in þat sudary he was hool. The woma*n* teld him þe mane*r* pleynly who sche cam be þis figure. Sche saide a litil be fore þe passiou*n* sche undirstood weel partye be þe wordis of ou*r* lord partye be þe conspiraciou*n* of iewis þat ou*r* lord in schort tyme schuld deye wherfo*r* sche ordeyned a fay*r* kerchy in whech sche þoutȝ sche wold haue depeynted þe face of ou*r* lord and as sche went to seke þe poynto*ur* ou*r* lord mette hir and askid he*r* whidir sche we*n*t and sche answerd and told him þe treuth. Tho ou*r* lord took þe kerchy and imp*r*essid þe*r*in þe liknesse of his face whech was al disfugured of colou*r* of labou*r* in *pr*eching and fastyng and oþir hardnesse whech he used. For ou*r* bokes sey þat of swech penau*n*s he semed mech elde*r* þa*n*n he was as may be seyn in jones gospel whe*r* þe iewis supposed þat he was L ȝere old whan*n* he cam neuyr to xxxiiii. This same geruase tellith of an oþir figure of ou*r* lord and alleggith for him a book i called gesta de uultu lucano whech book is not I trow in þis lond. This geruase seith þat whan ou*r* lord hing naked on þe crosse joseph ab arimathia stood a mongis oþir frendis of ihū and morned lich as þei dede. And þoo he scide on to ou*r* lady and oþir þat stood by. This man he seith þat hangith on þe tre he*r*, he may sey þat he hath but febil frendis whan non of us hath he*r* a cloth to hide with al his nakidnesse. Tho sent þei with o consent and bowt

Pascal I, they were translated to S. Peter's. Their feast-day is observed in many churches in Rome besides S. Peter's; especially at S. Pietro in Carcere. The mosaic at their altar in the basilica represents their martyrdom; the original of the picture is at the Quirinal. In some martyrologies they are associated with S. Firmin (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, July, vol. i, p. 300).

[1] The first mention of the Vernacle by name is made by Nicholas IV in 1290, who says: 'sui pretiosissimi vultus Imaginem, quam Veronicam fidelium vox communis appellat in singularis amoris insigne tribuit venerari.' Some authorities derive the word from a corruption of the words 'vera icon'. Others think that the name of the matron of Jerusalem, who helped our Lord on His way to Calvary, was Berenice or Beronice; whence the name Veronica. Her house is described as 550 paces from that of Pilate, and on the left hand of the pilgrim as he goes towards the Holy Sepulchre. The so-called Gospel of Nicodemus first mentions the tradition that she was the woman cured of the flux of blood (Mark v. 25). She is supposed to have been the wife of S. Amator, who again is believed to be identical with Zacchaeus of the New Testament. They both fled from persecution to France. Her name is not found in the Mart. Rom. (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*).

hem a fayr schete a large and a clene and woud þis schete a boute him whil he hing on þe crosse, and body schete and al þei took down. But / whan yei schuld ley him in þe graue al ye schap of his body was impressid f. 377 v in þe cloth. Nichodemus kept þis cloth and ded poynt a noþir aftir þat figur woud it up and kept it with oþir relikes, þat is to sey a crowet with þe blood of our lord, on of þe nayles, part of þe crowne of þorn, þe sponge and mech oþir þing. And þis orison folowyng seid he euery day in presens of þese relikes. Ecce agnus dei ecce qui tollit peccata mundi ecce deus uiuorum & mortuorum ecce uita uiuencium salus omnium credencium quem adoramus quem glorificamus cui benedicimus & dominum patrem omnipotentem & filium cum spiritu sco laudamus & superexaltamus in secula. Adiutor & protector & defensor sis michi domine benignissime & sanctissime & misericordissime. This same geruase spekith of an othir figure of our lord þat was iu a cyte þei clepe edissa and þe grete story whech is cleped ecclesiastica historia berith witnesse of þe same. The processe is þis. A kyng of þat same cite cleped abgarus uexid with grete seknesse sent to our lord ihū to ierlm desiring to se his persone desiring eke þat he schuld cure him of certeyn greuous seknesse. Our lord wrote on to him a lettir in whech he seyde þat þe kyng was blessid for to be leue in him whom he had nowt seyn. He wrote ferþermor þat he must fulfill þat dispensacion for whech he was sent but aftir his deth he be hith him for to send on of his disciples whech schuld lerne him þe trew feyth. And as touchyng sith of his persone he sent him a cloth in whech was depeynted þe ymage of our sauyour. And as it is wrytyn in þe cronicles of þe cyte our lord leyd him selue naked on þe cloth in whech al his body was meruelously merkid and þat same cloth is schewid euery esterne day, in whech þe ymage apperith in dyuers formes, þe first hour of þe day it semeth a child of uii 3ere age, þe secund our xiiii 3ere age, þe iii oure xx 3ere, and last our in swech age as he suffered passion for us. All þis is seid undir auctorite of geruase. There be alsoo in seynt petir cherch xii pileres standyng next þe auter whech as we seide be fore were caried fro ierlm & on ich of þese pileres stood sum tyme an ymage lich to on of þe aposteles of siluyr and gold but þe tyrauntes þat haue conquered rome bore a wey þat rychesse. On þere is a mongis all moost precious of þoo pileres whech is barred a boute with yrun and what uertu it hath and whi it hath swech uertu is wrytyn þere in latyn in hard marbill þe sentens of þat writing is translate here in englisch. This is þe pilere on whech our lord ihū crist lened whann he prechid to þe puple and on whech he rested whann he prayed to þe fader of heuene, whech pilere with othir xi þat stande her a boute were brout fro salamones temple on to þis nobel cherch, þe uertu þerof puttith a wey / wikkid spirites fro men þat be uexid with hem & doth f. 378 r

many oþir miracles.[1] A litil fro þese pileres is an antere of white marbil & in þe myddis a fayre porphiri ston moꝛ þann a supᵉraltari. This sentens is writen þᵉre in latyn. Upon þis porphiri ston were weyed þe bones of þe holy aposteles petir and paule & departed be seynt siluester þe pope* þe ȝere of ouꝛ lord iii huudred and xix whann þis cherch was mad. Many oþir þingis be þeꝛ at seynt petres but þese be most famouse.

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O seynt paules cherch[2] caplm̄ ii

Now of þe cherch of seynt panle wil we speke whech stant iu þe south side of rome a myle oute fro þe ȝate whech þei called in old tyme porta capena now is it clepid porta sc̄i pauli. It is fro seynt petir cherch to seynt paules cherch iii myle. ȝe schul undirstand þat in þe cherch of seynt petir ar seculere chanones and in þe cherch of seynt paule monkis of seynt benedictis ordꝛ. This same cherch of seynt paule is large ny of schap to seyut petres with a body and iiii eles saue in length it hath too pileres lesse in eu*ery* rowe for seynt[3] hath iiii scoꝛ and uiii in al and þis hath but iiii score. The auter of seynt petir cherch stant in to þe west and þe autꝛ of seynt paule cherch stant in to þe est. Therfor su*m* pilg*rim*es be þᵗ knowe

[1] The following is a copy of the inscription on the column. Our author cannot have written before 1447, so that the inscription was then about ten years old.

HEC Ē ILLŪ COLŪNA Ī QUA DN̄S N̄R YH'US XP̄S APPO DIATUS. DUM POPULO P REDICABAT. ET DEO P̄RI P CES I TEMPLO EFFUNDE BAT. ADHERENDO STABAT. QUE UNA CŪ ALIIS UND ECĪ HIC CIRCŪSTANTIBUS DE SALAMONIS TEMPLO IN TRIUMPHUM HUI' BASILICE. HIC LOCATA FUIT. DEMONES EXPELLIT. ET AB IMMUNDIS SPIRITIBUS VE XATOS LIBEROS REDDIDIT. ET MULTA MIRAC'LA COTID IE FACIT: P REVERENDISSIM̄ P̄REM ET DOMINŪ DNU' CARD̄. DE URSINIS OR NATA: ANNO DOMINI M CCCC XXXVIII.

[2] The more ancient Basilica of S. Paul was founded, according to tradition, hy Anacletus; it was enlarged by Constantine, and stands over the tomb of the Apostle, which was in the Catacombs of Lucina. The second church, in which the orientation of the former huilding was reversed, was commenced hy Valentinian II, Theodosius, and Arcadius; it was completed hy Honorius in 395, restored by Leo the Great in the fifth, hy Eusehius in the sixth, and by Leo III in the eighth century. After its desecration hy Saracen invaders, John VIII repaired the church, surrounded it with a fortified wall, and gave it the name of Johannopolis. Other works were carried out hy Hildebrand (Gregory VII), whose name was engraved on the hronze doors. Honorius III decorated the apse with mosaics, and many other pontiffs repaired and beautified the church. The last to carry out important works therein was Benedict XIV, hut it was destroyed hy the disastrous fire of the year 1823, and the work of restoration, which is under the charge of the Italian Government, has not as yet heen completed, though it is well advanced.

[3] 'petir c | ' in margin of MS. The rest of the addition cut off for purpose of hinding.

þe cause whi mc*n* go in at þe west ende of seynt paules, for þe redieꝛ weye is for to entꝛ be þe north side. The cause whi þoo men þat knowe þe place enter be þe west side is þis, for aftir tyme þat sey*n*t paules heed was smet of too myle þens it was caried and hid þc*re* þe west dore is now and aftirward fou*n*de and kepte with grete reue*re*nce. And in worchip of þat heed who so euyr enter be þat doꝛ he hath eu*er*y day xxuiii ȝere of indulgens with remissiou*n* of þe þirde part of his synnes. In þe feste of seynt paule is grau*n*ted a mł ȝere. In his co*n*uerciou*n* a c ȝere. In þe feste of i*n*nocentis xl ȝeꝛ. In þe dedicacou*n* of þe cherch whech is þe octaue day of sei*n*t martyn uii mł ȝere & þe þird part remissiou*n*. Eu*er*y sunday of þe ȝere hath a man þere as mech pardon as þow he went to seynt iames in gales.[1] This lond wheꝛ þis cherch stant and þe abbey with aꝑt heꝛ comoditees was sumtyme cleped ortus lucille in englisch it meneth þe gardeyne of lucille. This lucilla was a rich woma*n* and an holy whech spent hir good in cou*m*forti*n*g of martires in heꝛ passiones and in byrying of heꝛ bodies aftir her deth. Also in þe cherch of seynt paule be twix þe hye auteꝛ and þe auteꝛ of seynt benedict is a ful fayꝛ ymage of crist hanging on þe crosse whech ymage spak certeyn wordes on to seynt bryde whech tyme sche lay þere in co*n*templacion and þe same ston þat sche rested on at þat tyme is þere closed in a / grate. Eke in þe sacristie may a man see þe same bible þat was seynt f. 378 v
ieromes, and as su*m*me sey þere he wrote it him selue. A fayꝛ book is it and a large and ful wel arayed.[2]

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## Of þe cherch of sei*n*t sebastiau*n*.[3] iij.

The cherch of seynt sebastian stant to myle fro seynt paules also oute of þc wallis of rome a grete myle for we enter in to rome a geyn whan we haue

[1] In the *Stacions of Rome*, E. E. Text Society, 1867, p. 4, the indulgences are as follows: on the Festival of his Conversion 100 years, on S. Paul's Day 1,000 years, on Childermasse Day 4,000 years; and, for a whole year's Sundays, as much pardon as for a pilgrimage to S. James's.

[2] The great Alcuin Bible at S. Paul's is of the ninth century; it is a good copy of the recension made for Charlemagne by Alcuin, and presented to the emperor at Christmas, 800. Bishop Grandison, of Exeter, in the fourteenth century, had all the Bibles of his diocese corrected by a copy of this Bible at S. Paul's. It is Jerome's only in the sense that it is his recension of the Vulgate.

[3] The Basilica of S. Sebastian was erected in the fourth century, in honour of SS. Peter and Paul, and was then known as the *Basilica Apostolorum*. Below the *confessio* of the building was the *Platonia*, where the remains of the Apostles were laid for security during the troubled period of the persecutions. The church appears to have consisted of a nave and two aisles, separated by columns, with an apse; behind the apse was a *matroneum*. It was frequently restored during the Middle Ages, but was completely reconstructed in its present form by Cardinal Borghese in the seventeenth century. Practically, but little of the old building can now be seen (Armellini, p. 714; Nibby, p. 704; Marucchi, p. 488).

do our labour þerc be a ȝate þei clepe porta appia. In þis cherch lith þe holy pope seynt fabiane þat was chosen to þat dignite be a grete myracle for a dowe cam sodeynly and rested on his heed. It was he þat ordeyned notaries in rome for to write þe deth of martires whech wer killid þere for cristis cause. This man lith in þe hye auter þat stant a boue.[1] There is a nopir auter bc nethe as we come oute fro þe cymytery whech is cleped kalixti and in þat auter lith þe holy martir called sebastiane. This auter is hald on of þe holy places of rome.[2] For at þis auter sang seynt gregori and an aungell mynistered at his messe whech aungell for þe moost party of þat messe stood on a white ston þat lith þere ȝet and it is hald in ful grete reuerens. Thc aungell seid þese wordis as it is writyn þere. In loco isto est uera promissio & peccatorum remissio splendor & lux perpetua ac sine fine leticia quam promeruit x̄pī martir sebastianus. That is to sey in englisch. In þis place is þe uery behest & remission of all synnes schynyng and lith euyr lastyng þorw þe meritis of cristis martir sebastiane. Also a bouen in þe same cherch be þat dore þat goth to rome lith seint steuene þe pope a for an auter undir a fair ston i grated with irun. This cherch hath grete pardoun euery day þorw onte þe ȝere a mi ȝere and in o sunday in may remission of all synnes. The cymytery cleped kalixti is nndir þe cherch a cane or ellis a myne nndir þe ground. It is neythir uery ston ne uery erde but be twix both red of colour. Many caues be þere and stopped with stones þat men schuld not erre in her weye saue too are left

[1] S. Fabian succeeded S. Anteros in the Holy See in the year 236. According to Eusebius, his election was unanimous; because, when the clergy and the people were assembled to choose a Pope, a dove settled on his head; this was accepted as a miraculous sign. But we know little certain about him. Eusebius says that he was of a good Roman family; that he was the nineteenth Bishop of Rome, and reigned from 236 to 251; other authorities say that he was the twenty-first Pope, and only reigned fourteen years, perishing in the persecution of Decius in 250. The latter version is accepted by the Bollandists as the more correct. He was buried in the cemetery of S. Callixtus on the Appian Way, and the church of S. Sebastian was erected over his grave. S. Cyprian calls him, in a letter to Pope Cornelius, an incomparable man; he is said to have baptized the Emperor Philippus Arabus; he sent S. Denis to Gallia; and during his pontificate, according to Gregory of Tours, the Churches of Paris, Tours, Toulouse, Narbonne, Arles, Clermont, and Limoges were founded (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, January, vol. ii, p. 252; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. i, p. 148).

[2] S. Sebastian was born at Narbonne; his family came originally from Milan, where his youth was spent. He came to Rome about 283. He was appointed officer in the Pretorian body-guard; it was not known at the time that he was a Christian. He used his official position to help his fellow believers as much as possible; amongst others, he was able to be of assistance to the Pope S. Caius. His martyrdom took place in the reign of Diocletian and Maximianus. Owing to the care of a pious widow, Irene, he recovered from the wounds inflicted on him by the arrows; but he was beaten to death in the circus, and his body was thrown into the cloaca. It was recovered and buried, in the manner described by our chronicler (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, January, vol. ii, p. 259).

open of whech on as þei sei was seynt petir chapel. But if ȝe here lith in ȝour hand ȝe se rith nowt for it is dep undir þe grou*n*d. For whan we go down on þe o side of þe cherch þ*er*e he xxxii greces and i trow as many upward on þe oþir side þ*er*e þe au*n*geƚƚ ministred to sei*n*t gregori at messe. The cymytery is þus long þat if a man tary not in þe chapeles but go rith forth he schal walk it he þan̄ he hath said iiii sithes miserere mei deus. In þis place wer hiried xlui popes* and ech of hem ȝaue grete indulgence to þe same place. Ther was seynt cecile hiried alsoo hir memorial is þ*er*e ȝet grauen in white marhiƚƚ ful wel. The comou*n* opinion is þ*er*e of þis place þat who so euyr out of synne uisite it þat is to seye clene schreue and / con- f. 379 r trite he is assoiled as clene as a man may he be power of þe cherch. This cymytery was mad be calixte þe pope* þ*er*for it hereth his name. He mad it as þei sey for too causes on is þat þe hedes or ellis þe popes* of þe cherch schuld dwelle þere secretly fro p*er*el of tirau*n*tis for it was n*ec*ecarie þat þei schuld leue lenger̄ to confirmaciou*n* of hem þat were neophites. An oþir cause þei sei he had for he desired for to hyry martires þat deied for cristis sake and for he myth not doo þis openly þ*er*for he ordeyned þis p*ri*uy place.[1] Be side þis cherch is a grete hous whech þei clepe cathacu*m*bas þis same catacu*m*bas is a meruelous name for it is not expowned in our̄ latyne bokes ne no*n* of þe gramaiiones touch þis word þus compowned. The simples þei speke of as of cata whech sou*n*deth as þei wryte þat cata is a boue or ellis cata is al and cumbo or ellis cumbas þei sey þat þis is lowe or ellis dep so þis word sou*n*dith aƚƚ lowe or elles al dep and in uery sikirnesse þis same hous is dep in þe erde and was sumtyme a grete pitte for we go down y*er*too on xxuiii greces. Su*m*me men sey þat is was þe purgaciou*n* of aƚƚ yssewes of þe hocheres þat dwelt þere for þ*er*e he ȝet many wallis on whech stood ful solempne houses whech houses wer̄ a hochery sumtyme to rome and in þis place as þei sey were petir and paule þrowe rith for despite. This tale in partie is soth and in partie not for þat it was a macelle called in our̄ tonge a hochery þat is soth and þat þei were þrowe þere of þoo men þat killid hem for despite þat is not soth. Therfor wil we declare on to ȝou þe trewth of þis mater̄. Petir and paule suffered her̄ passion at rome þe last ȝere of nero hoth at o tyme as gelasius þe pope* writith. Petir was killid in uia aurea and þere hyried in a place whech þei clepe uaticanus whech place is now

[1] S. Callixtus I was Pope from 219 to 222. Some authorities, however, give 217 and 218 as the date of his election. He appears to have heen horn at Ravenna, and to have belonged to the family of Domitian. He founded the cemetery on the Via Appia which bears his name. He was martyred during the reign of Alexander Severus; prohably not hy his orders, as the emperor is said to have had a warm personal regard for him. He was huried in the cemetery of Kalepodius on the Via Aurelia; his relics rest in the church of S. Maria Trastevere (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, Octoher, vol. vi, p. 401; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. i, p. 141).

ioyned on to seynt petir cherch[1] and it was clepid so for þe prestis of þe hethen lawe had þere certeyn reuelaciones as þei seide be whech þei *pro*phecied on to þe puple. For uates is a *pro*phete and canus is as mech to sey in þat tonge as elde so ioyned to gidir þis place sou*n*dith in oure tonge a place of elde *pro*phecye. And þat þis place stood uia aurea or aurelia as it is cleped sumtyme witnessith þe legende of seynt pancrace. Now was paule ded u myle fro þat place uia hostiensi where a chapelle with iii welles stant ȝet fast bi scala celi and þere biried and so ley þei many ȝeres on to þe tyme of cornely þe pope* whech was þe xxi pope* fro petir for in his tyme þe grekis þat dwelle at constantinople hauy*n*g enuie þat þe cherch of rome schuld be mor̃ in honour̃ þan her̃ cherch & considering þat þese bodies of petir and paule biried at rome were a grete cause of accesse of pilg*ri*mes ful sotilly þei com to rome and with grete curiosite stole þese bodies with entent to ber̃ hem to hostie and so forth to þe se. And whan þei wer̃ goy*n*g þe
f. 379 v spi/ritis þat were in ydolis constreyned be þe grete power̃ of our̃ lord cried with a loude uoys help men help for ellis ȝour goddis schul be stole. The cristen men undirstood þis of þe bodies of petir and paule, þe hethen men undirstood it of her̃ maumentis, and so with o consent þei pursewid þe grekis, and[2] sey þe grekis þei þrewe þe bodies in þis pitte and þe*re* lay þei as su*m*me cronicles sey lxx ȝere. Martines cronicle seith þat þei were þrowe þere in cornelius tyme and lift up eke in þe same popes tyme and translate to þo places þe*re* þei ly now at instans of a blessid woma*n* callid su*m*tyme

[1] This passage is interesting, as it shows that in the fifteenth century the site of the martyrdom of S. Peter was believed by some to be near the Basilica of S. Peter, and not on the Janiculum at S. Peter in Montorio. For a full discussion of this subject see lectnre by Comm. Prof. O. Marucchi, published in the *Journal of the Proceedings of the British and American Archaeological Society*. The modern error, which fixes the site at S. Pietro in Montorio, appears to have crept in somewhere abont this period (1450), for which see *In diesem Büchlin stet geschryben wie Rom von erst gebauet*, &c., Strassbnrg, 1500, p. G ii v: 'Es ist zů sant peter in montorio ist ein clōster des ordens sante francisci und halten di observanz | uff der selben stat die kirch lygt da is gemartert worde*n* und gecreützigetsant peter der zwelffpot | da is grosz genad nnd ablasz.' Muffel's account is interesting, as it also shows that in 1452 the site of S. Pietro in Montorio was, by some, held to be the true one. He says that, after parting with S. Paul, 'sand Peter ward wyder in kerker gefürt, nnd on einem andern tag gekreutzigt auf einem perg zwischen den zweyen nodellen' (nadel = pyramid) 'dye do sten eine in der maur, do sand Panlus thor hinanf get nnd Rumulus und Remus auf begraben ligen . . . und zwischen der anderen nodelen, die do steht zwischen der Tyber prucken und sand Peter' (p. 28). Again, in speaking of the Chnrch of S. Pietro in Montorio, von Harff says: 'Off deser stat is gemartelt ind gecruciget woirden sijnt Peter apostel' (*Pilgerfahrt in den Jahren 1496-9*, p. 30, Dr. E. von Groote, Cöln, 1860). The Church of S. Pietro in Montorio is ancient, and is mentioned in the ninth century by Agnello in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna. Sixtus IV bestowed the chnrch upon the Franciscans in 1472, and Ferdinand and Isabella employed Pontelli, the architect of the Palazzo Venezia, to rebuild it (Armellini, p. 551; Marucchi, p. 460; Nibby, p. 587; Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, p. 174).

[2] 'þat' in margin of MS.

lucilla and sum*m*tyme lucina. Othir cronicles sey þat þei were translate fro þat place long aftir þat tyme for siluest*er* was þe xii pope fro cornely whech weyid hem and dep*ar*ted hem as it is writyn in marbil openly in seynt petir cherch. Swech contradiccion*n* is alday in cronicles but for be cause it touchith not þe articles of oure feith þerfor may men chese what party þei wil.

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## Of þe cherch late*r*anens*is*.[1] capꝯ iiii.

The cherch clepid late*r*anens*is* is a ful solempne place and many dyue*r*s houses be þe*r*in with dyuers relikes.[2] First whan we come fro sebastianes we entre a hous cleped seynt gregoryes librarie for þere as þei sey mad he þe most part of his bokis in token þat it is so, mech of his lif is ȝet depoynted on þe wallis. A noþir litil chapel is by and on þe auteꝛ stand to elde pileris of ston whech pileres þei sey stood in þat conclaue at Nazareth wheꝛ gabriel told ouꝛ lady þoo first heuenely tydyngis. And in uery soth a ymage of ouꝛ lady is on þe o pileꝛ and a ymage of gabriel on þe oþir of ful elde picture. Than go we in to þe baptistery. The baptistery is a grete hie round hous in whech constantyn was baptized and many oþir houses ha*n*gen þe*r*on as schal be declared aftirward. In þe myddis of þis hous stand uiii grete pileres of porphiri ston be twix whech was þe uessel sette in whech he was waschid. On þe rith ha*n*d as we come in is a hous grated with tymbir where þe conk stant þus þei clepe it þe uessel of his baptem of whech conk we mad a spec*i*al declaracion in þe first part be fore þe xxiii chapetre. Next þat hous is a litil chapel halowid in þe worchip of seynt ion baptist in whech no woma*n* entreth and þe*r*e as þei sey is pleneꝛ remissiou*n* tociens quocie*n*s of þe grau*n*t of sei*n*t siluester women haue þe

[1] The church of S. John Lateran occupies part of the site of the family palace of the Laterani. At the time of Constantine it was imperial property, and is said to have heen conferred hy him upon S. Silvester as an episcopal residence. The emperor founded the basilica, and from this time the *Patriarchum*, as it was called, was the ordinary residence of the Popes. The hasilica was destroyed by an earthquake, or by fire, and was rehuilt hy Sergius III (904–11). Innocent IV emhellished it, and Boniface VIII, in the year of his juhilee, decorated it magnificently. Two outhreaks of fire, in 1307 and 1361, caused great damage, which was repaired hy Clement V, Innocent VI, and Urhan V; the last named sent funds from Avignon. On the return of the Popes to Rome, the huilding was found to be in a ruinous condition; it was suhsequently entirely renovated hy Clement VII, Innocent X, and Clement XII.

[2] Muffel gives a very careful description of the Lateran, and says that the indulgences, when the heads of SS. Peter and Paul are shown, are the same as when the Vernacle is shown at S. Peter's: i.e. 7,000 years for Romans, 10,000 for other Italians, and 14,000 years for those who come from across the mountains. He also mentions the *lex regia*, which Cola di Rienzo hung up in the church: 'Item neben an der seul stet der zwelf tafel eine von messing, dorin die recht geschrihen stend die den Romern von Athenis geschickt wurden do Rom nur xx jar gestanden was' (pp. 10–11).

same if þei go on pilg*ri*mage and touch þe dore. Than next is a grete chapell and an offering on to an ymage of our lady þe special offeringis be ringis of gold or of siluer and þ*er*for is þat ymage cleped Sca maria de anulo þat is to sey in englisch Seyn mary of þe ring. Who þat þis offering cam
f. 380 r /in use first is writyn þere in a table rith thus. ¶. There was sumty*me* *in* rome a rich ma*n* whech had on to his wyf a woma*n* both[1] and good. This man loued be side his wyf a woma*n* of uicious condicionis and þei to spent grete good in riot and uicious lyuy*n*g. The wif þat was good of lyf had þis condicio*un* þat ones or twyes in þe weke sche wold walk to seynt ion late*r*anense and spe*ci*al deuocio*un* wold sche sey be for þis ymage þat is in worchip of our lady. The uicious woma*n* p*er*ceyued weel þat al þe loue of þe husbond was go fro þe wif and ful onkendly com to hir, detracted þe wif in his presens and seid þat sche used þe same onclennesse whech he used and p*r*ouyd þis be grete absens fro hir owne hous ones or twies in þe weke. The man leued not þese tales. Tho þis wikkid woma*n* went to a nygro-ma*n*cer and *com*pelled a da*m*pned spirit to stele þe ring þ^t^ þis good woma*n* was weddid with and be him selue appe*r* lich a ȝong man weryng þis ring. And whan þe husbond sey al þis a non he hastid homward al þat he myth in purpos for to sle his i*n*nocent wif for to þis entent wroute þe forseid wikkid woma*n* al þis malicious werk. And þa*n* þe wif prayed oure lady for sche coude not fynde þe ryng whech he bad hir seke and be grete myracle þe ryng was brout a gayn and all þe fraude of þe fend parceyued, þe husbond eke conuerted fro his[2] and þis same is ȝet a gret offeryng in rome in spe*ci*al of ryngis.[3] In þat same chapel is a noþir fayr hous in whech þei seye constantine held his counc*e*ll with his lordis and þ*er*e stant ȝet partie of his tribunal. Be side þis is a chapell and be þe dor stant a pile*r* of marbill scarce a metȝerd hy be twix whech pile*r* and þe wal is a litil space and in þat space on of þe popes* clepid gregorie *con*dempned him selue to p*ri*son but aftirward he was delyue*r*yd be miracle and on þis pile*r* stood sumtyme a crucifixe whech me*n* kissed with grete deuocio*un*. So happed it þat a gentil woman cam for to kisse þis crucifixe and sey anoþir old por woma*n* kisse þe same. And as of dedignacio*un* whan sche wold haue wipte þe crucifixe al sodeynly it fled fro þat place up to a wal and mor þan four fadom hy hing stille and ȝet it hangith in testimonie of þe miracle.[4] Aftir

[1] 'fayr' in margin of MS.

[2] 'wi' (? wish, will) in margin of MS.

[3] 'In . . . is another chapel, wherein is painted an image of our Lady, that, upon the offering of a ring by a certain woman, stretched forth her hand, and drew to her the ring, where it yet appeareth upon the finger in the picture' (Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, p. 133, translation of Codex Vaticanus 4265).

[4] *Ein Büchlin*, &c., Strassburg, 1500, gives a similar account of this miracle. See also Rucellai, *Il Giubileo dell' anno santo 1450*, *Archiv. St. Pat.*, 1881, vol. iv, fasc. iv, p. 568.

uisitacioun of þese places we entre in to þe grete cherch whech was þe first þat euyr was bilid in cristendam and euene ouyr þe aũteꝛ on þe wal is þe face of our sauiouꝛ whech appered on to alł þe puple of rome uisibile þe same day þat seynt syluester halowid þe cherch. And as þe elde stories sey it was neuyr mad with mannes hand but sodeynly þus it appered. A fayre figure it is and brith of colouꝛ brown and red and large eke. Than turne we down in to þe cherch / and kisse a grete auter ouyr whech auter be þe f. 380 v
hedes of petir and paule whech be schewid ofte sith in þe weke be foꝛ estern openly on to þe puple.[1] The hed of petir is a brood face with mech heꝛ on his berd and þat is of grey colouꝛ be twix whit and blak. The hed of paule is a long face balled with red heꝛ both berd and hed. On eithir side of yis aũteꝛ stand too grete pileres of brasse hol ful of seyntes bones. Summe men sey þat þoo weꝛ þe pileres þat hiram mad to salamon as þe þirde book of kyngis make mynde but þis be leue I nowt for þat descripcioun whech is mad in þe book of regum accordith rith nowt with þe schap of þese pileres. In þe uttir ende of þe cherch ferþest fro þis aũteꝛ is a chapeł in· whech be many relikis. Theꝛ is þe arke of þe eld testament with þe tables þe rodde þat floured & þe uessel of gold with manna. Theꝛ is þe bord on whech crist mad his maunde, þe ȝerd of moyses, of þe u loues and of þe too fischis þat left at cristis fest, þe cote of ouꝛ lord whech ouꝛ lady mad, ·part of ouꝛ ladies kerchi, part hir heꝛ, þe hed of zakarie jon baptist fader, of þe blood and of þe aschis of seynt jon baptist body, þe hed of seint pancrace,[2] þe schuldir of seynt laurens, þe cote of seynt jon euangelist with whech he reysid iii dede men, þe cuppe in whech he drank uenum, þe chene with whech he was teyid in ephese & many oþir þingis. Now go we upward in to þe cherch a geyn and entren in to a cloistir whech ledith in to þe grete halle where þe general counceł be holden whech tyme þei be at rome. At þe hey des of þis halle is a ful fayre marbil ston so cured a boue ·with bord þat

[1] Montaigne also saw the heads of the Apostles when he travelled in Italy, and describes them thus: 'La veille de Pasques je vis à S. Jean de Latran, les chefs S. Pol et S. Pierre, qu'on y montre, qui ont encore leur charnure, teint et barbe, comme s'ils vivoient; S. Pierre, un visage blanc un peu longuet, le teint vermeil & tirant sur le sanguin, une barbe grise fourchue, la teste couverte d'une mitre papale. S. Pol, noir, le visage large et plus gras, la teste plus grosse, la barbe grise, espesse' (*Journal du Voyage en Italie*, ed. by Ancona, Città di Castello, 1895).

[2] S. Pancratius was the only son of wealthy heathen parents of Synnada, a town in the north of *Phrygia salutaris*. On the death of his father he went with his uncle Dionysius to Rome, where they lived in a large house on the Caelian Hill. They were both converted to the Christian faith, in spite of the persecution which was then raging. The uncle fell ill, and died in peace; but S. Pancras, in spite of his youth, was sentenced to death by the sword. He suffered martyrdom in the year 304, in the reign of Diocletian, on the Via Aurelia, and was buried by the noble matron Octavilla in the cemetery of Kalepodius (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. iii, p. 17).

men may kisse it. On þis ston stood seynt jon þe euangelist and prechid þe feith of ouꝛ lord on to domician emperouꝛ and to þe puple of rome. Aftir his sermone ouꝛ lord ihū appered on to him in swech figure as he went in erde and þankid him for his sermone and so sodeynly passed oute at þe oþir ende of þe halle no man wist where. This uisioun caused popes * in elde tyme to graunte grete indulgence to þis hous xl ȝere & xl lentones. And be cause no man can telle uerily be whech doꝛ crist went oute for þeꝛ be iii dores þerfor pilgrimes goo þorw alł iii dores.[1] Euene be fore þoo dores is a ful fayre hous open on to þe cort of laterane nse and sette hye up on a uoute in whech hous seynt gregory prechid often on to þe puple. The desk of marbil stant þere ȝet on whech he was wone to lene whan he prechid. Than go we forth in a long paue of a cloystir and þere lith a grete round ston of marbil and fast by is depoynted a ymage of seynt jame. This is þe uery story of þese toknes as I lerned þere. Scynt jon þe euangelist whan he was at rome had grete desire to speke with james his broþir whech was
f. 381 r þat tyme in spayn at gales. This / same jon cried out at þe windowne and spak on to seint iame & iames answered him of certeyn materis whech þei wold. This þing semeth impossible to mannes witte for þe grete distauns of u or ui hundred myle but to god is no þing impossible whan he will werk ony þing for his seruauntes. A litil ferther in þat cloyster hang þe first bellis þat euyr wer mad.[2] And forth in anoþir paue of þat cloystir is a chapeł and þere stant þe chayeꝛ þat þe pope * is asayed in wheþir he be man or woman be cause þe cherche was deceyued ones in a woman whech deyid on processioun grete with child for a ymage is sette up in memorie of hir as we go to laterane be for a litil place sumtyme a cherch as I suppose it schuld be cleped titulus pastoris.[3] Aftir yis chapeł be a peyre greces

[1] Ritter A. von Harff mentions the fact that pilgrims go through all three doors. On p. 14 he says: 'Dae steynt ouch drij ander portzen beneuen eyn andereren, weyss man vnder den drynnen nyet wylch die rechte poertz sij, darumb geyt man durch sij alle drij.' He adds, that he who does this with devotion, all his sins are forgiven. He also tells us, on p. 15, that in the church is a stone, on which S. Silvester stood and preached to Constantine; and that on it are written the words: *Aures audiencium* (*Pilgerfahrt in den Jahren 1496-9*: Von Groote, Cöln, 1860).

[2] 'Item appresso al detto luogo due campane non molto grandi senza battaglio che si dice furono le prime campane che si facessino mai al mondo' (Rucellai, *Il Giubileo dell'anno santo 1450*, *Archiv. St. Pat.*, 1881, vol. iv, fasc. iv, p. 571. See also Muffel, p. 14).

[3] Our chronicler has made the mistake of confusing the very ancient church of S. Pastor with the *titulus pastoris*, the old name of S. Pudenziana. S. Pastor was near S. Clemente; it is mentioned in the papers of the hospital of S. Salvatore, in the year 1452, as 'ecclesia S. Pastoris prope S. Clementem de qua non restat nisi pars tribunae'. It appears to have been attached to the Monastery of S. Clemente; for, in a catalogue of churches of the time of Pius V, it is referred to as 'S. Pastore dentro S. Clemente'. The catalogue of Turin says: 'Ecclesia S. Pastoris habet unum sacerdotem'. There is now no trace whatever of it; and Armellini, while admitting that he knows of no historical

down in to þe cort of faiꝛ white marbiłł as I haue mynde now þere be euene xxuiii. Up on on of þese greces stood ouꝛ lord ihū he fore pilate whan he was dempt to þe deth and not withstanding þat o gre is merkid for þat cause as þei sey ȝet þe deuocion of pilgrimes is not content þerby but þei knele up on alle and kisse ałł for uery sikirnesse. ȝet aboue in þe cloistir be othir iii chapellis of whech on in special is of grete auctorite þei clepe it þe chapel of þe saluatouꝛ eke in þis chapel entreth neuyr no woman.[1] The story of þat chapel is writyn þere in grete declaracioun here it schal he ahreggid. Aftir þe deth of ouꝛ lord ihū ouꝛ lady mary made grete lamentacioun for absens of hir son. Consolacyon wold sche non receyue hut if sche myth haue a face lich his face on whech sche myth loke euery day. This mateꝛ was comounned a mongis þe apostoles and þis weye founde þerin þat seynt luke must make þis ymage. He wold not graunte hem to make it but on a condicioun þat þei schuld fast and prey iii dayes for his good speed. And in þis mene while þis luke plaued a table of a palme tre in whech he þout for to make his werk whech table he sperd up priuyly þat no man schuld touch it. But whann tyme cam þat he schuld werk he fonde a face redy mad whech no man coude amende. This tahle was schewid on to ouꝛ lady and sche had so grete plesauns þerin þat sche kissid it swetely and

record of the saint, thinks that he belonged to the early apostolic era in Rome. Marucchi, in his article on S. Pudenziana, thinks that S. Pastor was the hrother of Pope Pius I (142–57). (Armellini, p. 501; Marucchi, p. 365.) Adinolfi says that the tribuna of the church was standing near S. Clemente in 1462. Regarding the legend of Pope Joan, he says that Martinus Polonus is one of the earliest authors to mention the fahle, which was invented ahout the thirteenth century (vol. i, pp. 317–18; vol. ii, p. 79). The fable of Pope Joan is also mentioned by Muffel, p. 18. The place where the statue stood which in the Middle Ages was supposed to record this event was near S. Clemente; it is marked in the large map (in sections) at the end of De Rossi's *Piante iconografiche di Roma*, with the words 'Logo dove partorì la papessa'. There is some interesting information regarding the *sedes stercoraria* in Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, pp. 129–30, notes 274 and 275. Finally, for a discussion of the whole subject, see Tomassetti's able article in the *Bullettino Communale*, 1907, p. 82, on *La Statua della Papessa Giovanna*. He attrihutes the legend to three causes: (1) The rite of the *sella stercoraria*, ahandoned after the time of Leo X; (2) the existence of a statue on the road-side, which statue he believes to be that of Juno suckling Hercules, in the Chiaramonte gallery of the Vatican Museum; and (3) the ahandoning of this road for the procession of the *possessio*. This change was attributed to the existeuce of this statue, round which the legend grew; whereas it was, according to Tomassetti, really due to the impracticability of the road, until it was reopened by Sixtus V, who is also believed to have removed the statue to the Vatican.

[1] 'Item si dice che S. Piero vi disse messa e che Sto Lorenzo cantò il vangelo e Sto Vincenzio vi disse la pistola alla predetta messa e che la detta cappella fu consecrata per Cristo e per Sto Piero.—Item si dice che in detta cappella non si può dire messa se non per la persona del papa e che gli è più che cento anni che non vi si disse mai messa nè per lo papa nè per altri salvo che il passato papa Nichola quinto vi fece dire messa a uno suo cappellano l' anno 1448' (Rucellai, *Giubileo dell' anno santo 1450*, *Archiv. St. Pat.*, 1881, vol. iv, fasc. iv, p. 570).

seide þese wordis. This same is lich my son. In all hir lyf myth no man gete it fro hir but at hir deth sche ȝaue it on to seynt jon euangelist, and fro him it was be left with pollicarp his disciple and aftirward brout to rome.

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Of yat cherch cleped sei*n*t cruce.[1] cap̄ u.

Now of þat place whech is cleped seynt cruce wil we speke and first telle þe fundacion of þat place. Constantine had a doutyr meruelously cured of scabbe at þe graue of seynt agnes as we schul trete mor̄ largely aftirward whan we speke of seynt agnes. This constau*n*ce[2] ded mak þis cherch of
f. 381 v seynt cruce and pope* siluest*er* / halowid it. In þe hye auter̄ whech is a ful fayr̄ conk so clepe þei hol uessels of ston in þat same conk ly þe bodies of seynt anastase þe martir̄ & cesari þe martir[3] and þe*re* to is grau*n*ted xl ȝere of pardon and as many lentones. And in þe festis of þese too martires

[1] The church of S. Croce in Gernsalemme was founded by Constantine, in the fourth century, *in Palatio Sessoriano*; which palace, in classical times, was near the place of public execution. Marucchi thinks that S. Helena may have lived in the palace, which was at that time joined to the Lateran, and to the gardens of the Esquiline. The church was formerly known under the title of the *Basilica Sessoriana*. Its present name is derived from the portion of the Holy Cross placed in it by the Empress Helena when she brought that relic to Rome from Jerusalem. The church was embellished in the fifth century by Placidia and Valentinian III, and about this time the building was called the *Basilica Heleniana*. It was restored by Gregory II in 720, and by Benedict VII in the latter part of the tenth century. The present form of the church is due to Benedict XIV. The extraordinary legend (which follows in the text) of a Pope being dismembered at his own request at the door of the church, is due to the fact that Sylvester II expired, while he was celebrating Mass, on Quadragesima Sunday in 1003. He was buried at S. John Lateran. It is possible that he may have expressed a wish that his heart should be buried in the church in which he died. He was generally believed to have acquired magical knowledge from the Mohammedans in Spain, and the somewhat grnesome legend has probably developed by degrees around the above data. His epitaph still exists, and is quoted in full in n. 2, p. 77. For the origin of the name *Sessorio* or *Sessoriano*, see Adinolfi. He derives it from the Amphitheatrum Castrense, which was named the *Sessorian*, on account of the graduated order of its steps, and gave its name to the neighbourhood (vol. i, p. 272).

[2] S. Constantia, the daughter of Constantine, bears also the title 'Angusta'. She was cured of a dangerous illness at the grave of S. Agnes; this caused her conversion to Christianity. Gallicanus, a military leader, had asked for her hand in marriage; but when he had to leave Rome for one of his campaigns, she gave him, as companions, her servants SS. John and Paul; receiving into her household, in return, SS. Attica and Artemia, daughters of Gallicanus by a former marriage. Through her prayers they were converted to the Christian faith, as also was Gallicanus on his return from victory. S. Constantia and her two companions took upon themselves a vow of chastity; she built a church and dwelling at the grave of S. Agnes, in which she lived until her death in the fourth century (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, February, vol. iii, p. 67).

[3] Possibly this S. Cesarius is the saint of that name who suffered martyrdom in Terracina about the year 300, in the persecution of Diocletian. The relic of his arm was preserved in S. John Lateran; his feast-day is on Nov. 1 (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*).

is graunted remission of þe iiii part of synne. The fest of anastase falleth þe xxii day of jauuari. The fest of cesari fallith on halowmesday. In þis cherch is a grete pece of þe crosse þat our lord suffered passion upon, eke mech of þe crosse on whech þe theef hyng þat was on þe rit side. Ther be too saphires hol at þe ȝift of seynt heleyn in on of hem is part of þe blood of our lord ihū. in þe oþir part of þe mylk of þe blessed uirgine. Ther is also a nayle with whech our lord was fast to þe crosse it is a grete boistous þing of too handful long with a gret heed lich a schip nayl and blunt at þe ende for þat poynt whech is at coloyn of too unch long was broken fro þis nayl at comaundment of charles whan he was emperour. He ded so mech for þe cherch þat þe cherch myth no þing denye him. Ther is a cloth þat seyut ion baptist wered. Ther is a laumpe ful of bawm whech bawm rau fro þe heid of seint uinceut. Ther is a pees of þe flesch of seynt laurens and coles ioyned þerto rith as þei fried in his passioun. Ther be many oþir relikes in both auteres on eythir side for þe summe of indulgens in þe same place is euery day a hundred ȝere and xxuii and euery sunday wednysday and friday ccliiii. Thann go we down on a peyr greces in to a chapel þei clepe ierlm̄. This same chapel was þe pryuy chambir of seint heleyn in whech sche lay moost and seynt siluester at hir instauns consecrate þis hous and ȝaue þerto ful grete indulgens for euery friday þorw oute þe ȝer is þere plener remissioun, and on good friday absolucioun a pena & culpa as þe elde writing of þe wallis witnessid sumtyme. In þis chapell entreth no woman but o day in þe ȝer and þat is in march þe xx day, in þe uigile of seint benedict for þat day was þis chapel consecrate. Whi þat women be for boden swech holy places be told many lewed causes to whech I wil ȝeue no credens but I will sey myn opynyoun in þis mater. Al þoo whech haue be at rome knowe weel þat þe women þer be passing desirous to goo on pilgrimage and for to touch and kisse euery holy relik. Now in uery sothfastnesse þese places whech are forbode hem be rith smale in quantite. And uphap sum woman in þe prees eþir for seknesse or with child hath be in grete perel þere and for þis cause þei wer forbode þe entre of þese houses as I suppose.[1] In yis same chapel fel a wondirful case of on siluester þe pope not þat siluester þat baptized constantyn but anoþir whech hith gilbert be fore.[2] This man was enhaunced

[1] The following reason is given why women are not admitted to the chapel of the Holy Cross at S. Peter's: 'Das kam also zu, das ein fraw ein briester lieb het, und dieweil er ob dem altar stund und sy in ansach mit pöser begir, do enging yr die natur; das sicht man auf dem merbelstein do dy fraw ist gestanden.' The author adds that many Germans were buried in this chapel (Muffel, p. 24). See also Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, p. 127.

[2] Silvester II is first mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. ii, p. 258, in the Life of Benedict VII (974–83). The strange legend regarding his death will be found in his own

f. 382 r on þat dignite be / fals menes of nygromancie. And whann he whas þus sublimat on to þe hiest degre of þe cherch he councelled with his familiar deuel who longe he schuld lyue and where he schuld deye. The deuele told him undir a sophim he schul neuyr deye but at ierlm̄. Than was þe name of þis chapel onknowe to þe pope* for he supposed ueryly þat ierlm̄ whech stant in palestin was þe place asigned be þe deuele. Thus leued he in a maner of a sikernesse of long lyf for at þat ierlm̄ whech we spak of last he

life, p. 263. Duchesne, in n. 3, ib., places its origin about the end of the eleventh century, and traces it to the *Vita et Gesta Hildebrandi* of Cardinal Benno, who wrote in 1099. Vincent de Beauvais gives it at length (xxiv. 98). Sylvester was, however, buried in the Lateran; in the left aisle, near the entrance to the modern Corsini chapel. The tomb was stated by John the Deacon to drip with water. He says: 'Cuius' (Silvestri) 'saepe sepulcrum, etiam in serenissimo aere, cum non sit in humido loco, aquarum guttas, quod satis est hominibus admirandum, visibiliter emanat. Inde est altare sanctorum Quadraginta Martyrum' (Migne, *P. L.*, t. cxciv, p. 1551). The tomb was opened in 1648; the stone which bore the epitaph was preserved, and is still to be seen on one of the pillars of the right aisle of the church. Another very strange legend grew up about this tomb; viz. that the bones were heard to move and rattle whenever a Pope was about to die. The origin of this legend is explained by the inscription, which is as follows:—

Iste locus mundi Silvestri membra sepulti
Venturo domino conferet ad sonitum
Quem dederat mundo celebre doctissima virgo
Atque caput mundi culmina romulea
Primum Gerbertus meruit francigena sede
Remensis populi metropolim patriae
Inde Ravennatis meruit conscendere summum
Aecclesiae regimen nobile sitque potens
Post annum Romam mutato nomine sumpsit
Ut toto pastor fieret orbe novus
Cum nimium placuit sociali mente fidelis
Obtulit hoc Caesar tertius Otto sibi
Tempus uterque comit clara virtute sophiae
Gaudet et omne seclum frangitur omne reum
Clavigeri instar erat caelorum sede potitus
Terna suffectus cui vice pastor erat
Iste vicem Petri postquam suscepit abegit
Lustralis spatio saecula morte sui
Obriguit mundus discussa pace triumphus
Aecclesiae nutans dedidicit requiem
Sergius hunc loculum miti pietate sacerdos
Successorque suus compsit amore sui
Quisquis ad hunc tumulum devexa lumina vertis
Omnipotens domine dic miserere sui.

Obiit anno. dominice incarnationis MIIII. INDIC. I. M. MAI. D. XII.

The epitaph says nothing of the humidity, but the 'tumultus ossium' of the *Liber Pontificalis* (p. 263) was suggested by the second line. Duchesne says: 'Dans le *venturo Domino* on a vu, non le Souverain Juge, mais le pape futur, celui qui remplacera le pontife actuel en fonctions: *ad sonitum* a été entendu, non de la trompette du jugement dernier, mais du bruit que font en se choquant les os de Silvestre II (Silvestri membra sepulti... conferet) chaque fois qu'il y a un *dominus venturus* à l'horizon. C'est un exemple remarquable de légende formée d'après une inscription mal comprise' (Note 5, p. 264).

cast him neuyr to come. Than felle it a day in whech þe staciou*n* was at þis chapell and þe pope of usage mut nede synge þ*er*e for at þis day ȝet sy*n*ggith no ma*n* at þat auteꝛ.[1] Whan þis siluest*er* was at messe þe wedyr wex blak and meruelous tempestis aryse crowis i*n*numer*a*ble eke appered. The cardinalis and þe puple fel down for fer and no ma*n* myth entende on to þe s*er*uyse so were þei dismayed. Tho þe pope* cleped on un to him an inqwired of him þe name of þis place. He answerd and seid þat siluest*er* named it ierlm̄ at instau*n*s of sei*n*t heleyn. Thoo wept þe pope* and had grete repe*n*tau*n*s of his wikkid lyf and be fore þe puple mad open confessiou*n* what conuau*n*tis he had mad with þe deuele and who he was deceyued in sophisticaciou*n* of þis name ierlm̄. Wherfor he comau*n*ded hem þat þei schuld dismem*b*ir him ioynt be ioynt and þrow it owt to þe crowis þe same schuld þei do of his hert eke if þei boꝛ a wey his hert þei schuld neu*ir* pray for him he seide, and if þei boꝛ it not a wey þan myth þei trost þat he stood undir p*r*otecciou*n* of goddys m*er*cy. Thus as he comau*n*ded it was doo for þe hert of him wold þei not touch whech hert in tokne of þis myracle hangith in þe roof on to þis day.[2] Be foꝛ þe ȝate of seynt cruces st*a*nd iii crosses on whech þe passiou*n* of ouꝛ lord is ensau*m*pled on good fryday with mech oþir circu*m*stau*n*s. Eke as we go forth oute of þe cyte to þe cherch of seynt laurens is a grete wal standyng on arches on whech wall ru*n*ne sumtyme cu*n*dites of oyle of watir and of wyn on to þe grete paleys. And in þe nati*u*ite of ouꝛ lord fel þ*er*e a meruelous þing on of þo grete pileres mad al of tyl with half þe arch of þe o side and half on þe oþir side whech rested up on him turned him and stood euene *con*trarie to þe werk and so stant he at þis day.

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## Of þe cherch of s̄ laure*n*s. ui.

Now go we oute of þe cyte be a ȝate þei clepe porta lauicana and betwix heggis and uynes walk a grete myle or we come at þe cherch of seynt

[1] 'but þe' (? pope, cut off in binding) in margin of MS.

[2] Muffel says that the heart of the Pope is buried in S. John Lateran, but appears to be confusing the grave with the chapel built by Pope Hilary in honour of S. Stephen Protomartyr; for he says: 'Item hinten in der kirchen in der abseytten' (apsis) 'do ist auch das grab sant stephanus des bapsts, der sich zuhauen liess vor der kirchen zu Jerusalem zu dem heiligen creutz . . . und dasselbig grab, darinn das hertz ligt, giht stetigs feuchtikeit und donnert darynn, wen ein bapst sterben sol, das mansz etlich tag davor hort' (p. 12). 'Vor d' kirch ist ein roter marmelstein dar uff der pabste sasz d' sich dem teuffel ergab und wurde da zů stucken gehawen. Und dem teuffeln für geworffen di dar kommet yn vogels gestalt. Die stuck würde yn ein feur geworffen, sie fürte die stuck alle hin da, allein das hertz mochtens nit weg füren und das was ein gůt zeichen der gnaden' (*Ein Büchlin*, &c., Strasshurg, 1500, p. D ii v, B.M.).

laurens.[1] For it stant in a feld in her langage and in oure legendis þei sei in agro uerano. This cherch is edified ful wel and a monasterie of munkis
f. 382 v anexid yerto. In þis cherch be nethe þe auter in a uoute in a / ful fayre tumbe lith seint laurens with seynt steuene ful realy laurens was byryed þere aftir his martirdam but who seynt steuene cam yidir fro ierlm̄ þat schal I telle 3ow. Whan he was stoned to þe deth with þe iewis and left in þe feld þat bestes and foules schuld ete him, on gamaliel mayster on to seynt paule þe apostel took up þis body & ded it byry with grete worchip in a possession of his elepid in þe ebrew tonge caphargamala and þere lay þis body iiii hundred 3ere to counte fro cristis birth, and for to count fro þe deth of seynt steuene ccc 3ere lxui. So in þe uii 3ere of honorius þe emperour þis same gamaliel appered to a prest cleped lucianus and told hym wher steuene was byried and opir persones of whech þis gamaliel was on. He comaunded him eke to go to þe bischop of icrlm̄ and telle him þat it was þe wil of god þat þese persones schuld be lyft fro þat despect place in whech þei were leyd and bore on to þe cherch cleped syon in whech þe forseid steuene was sumtyme arschdeknc. As gamaliel comaunded al was do for þere was þe bodye of seynt steuene leyd in gretc worchip and many myracles do þat day as seynt austen berith witnesse in xxii book de ciuitate dei.[2] Aftir þis certeyn 3eres a gret lord senatour of constantinople cleped alisaundre sayled on to ierlm̄ with his lady julyane to uisite þoo holy places in whech oure lord suffered for us passion. And whan he was come for grete deuocioun whech he had to seynt steuene he mad on to him a fayr oratorie and a chest of siluer in whech his body was couchid. So happed it with inne fewe dayes þat þis alisaundr dyed aftir his deth his frendis made a chest of siluer lich on to þe former chest and leyd his body þerinne.

[1] The more ancient Basilica of S. Lorenzo outside the walls was founded by Constantine, and enlarged by Galla Placidia and Pelagius II in the fifth and sixth centuries. It went under the name of *speciosa*; and, as it was erected over the tomb of the saint in the Catacombs of Ciriaca, it was also called *ad corpus*, its position being further denoted by the words *super arenario cryptae*. The entrance to it was on the far side; that is to say, where the tomb of Pius IX now is. The second basilica, according to Armellini, was the work of Sixtus III; the two buildings were separate and distinct until the time of Honorius III (1218). The church of Sixtus III, which was erected about the year 432, was known as the *basilica maior* from its size; later, as the Basilica S. Maria presso S. Lorenzo from its dedication. The entrance to it was from the Via Tiburtina, so that the orientation was reversed. Honorius joined the two churches together (they were then back to back), and destroyed the two apses, thus making the basilica of Constantine the *confessio* of the church of Sixtus III. The porch dates from this period. Alexander IV decorated the interior in 1254 (Armellini, p. 679; Duchesne, *Lib. Pontif.*, vol. i, p. 197, n. 84, pp. 233–4; Marucchi, p. 496; Nibby, p. 296).

[2] S. Gamaliel, a Pharisee, was a leading teacher of the Jewish law, in which he instructed S. Paul. For the account of the burial of S. Stephen, and Gamaliel's apparition to Lucian, cf. Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*.

Seuene ȝere aftir his deth his wif juliane desired to saile to constantinople and prayed þe bischop of ierlm̄ to ȝeue hir leue þat sche myth cary hir husbondes body hom with hir̄. He answerd þat in treuth he knew not þe o chest fro þe oþir be cause þei were so lich. Sche saide þat sche had *priuy* merkes wher̄ hir husbond lay of whech sche schuld not faile. Thoo þe bischop schewid both and sche of ignoraunce chase þe chest of seynt steuene and left hir husbond þer̄. Whan þe body was with hir in þe see þe deueles of þe eyr cried with grete noyse þat her̄ enmy steuene was stole fro ierlm̄. Thus was he brout on to constantinople and had þere in ful grete reuerens. Aftir þis not long eudosia þe douter on to þe emperour̄ theodosius was uexid with a wikkid spirit sche at rome hir fader dwellyng at constantinople. Hir̄ frendis sent on to þe emperour̄ and teld him of þis chauns. He wrote a geyn on to hem þat sche schuld come to constantinople for þere he hoped sche schuld be eured þorw meritis of seynt steuene. Whan þis message was eome þe deuele with in hir eried and seid sche schal not go to constantinople but steuene must eome to rome for so is / þe wil of þe aposteles. Than was þere f. 383 r
a grete trety betwix þe grekis and þe romanes and in here trety þis was her apoyntment þat þe grekis schuld brynge þe body of seynt steuene to rome and leue it þere and in recompens reeeyue þe body of seynt laurens and bere it to eonstantinople. Thus come þei of grece with þe body of seyut steuene on to rome and þei of rome had ordeyned þat þis body schuld be leyd at a chereh þei clepe s̄c̄i petri ad uincula. But whan þei cam þere þe wikkid spirith with in þe mayde eried and spak on þis wise. | Not here schal he ly but with his broþir laurens. Tho bore þei him to þe ehereh of seynt laurens & euene at þe entre of þe eherch þe mayde þat folowid continiely be labour̄ of hir frendis was delyuered of hir wikkid gest. A non as þei cam to þe tombe of seynt laurens for to make a chaunge þe body of laurens sodeynly turned and mad a space wher̄ his felaw schuld ly. Tho leyd þei down þe body of seynt steuene aud a non as þei leyd haud for to take seynt laurens þei fell̄ down as ded and so ley still̄ a grete while on to þe tyme þat þe pope * and þe puple prayed for hem, eke with in x dayes after þei deyid all̄. Thus eam seynt steuene fro ierlm̄ to romc on to þe eherch of seynt laurens of wheeh ehereh þis special ehapetr̄ is mad.[1] In þis eherch ly many mo seyntis þan þei to as a table þere berith witnesse in wheeh be wrytin swech uers. Continet hoe templum sanctorum corpora plura A quibus auxilium suplex homo poscere cura Cum sixto iacet laurencius igne crematus Et prothomartir stephanus leuita beatus Post hos ypolitus collis religatus equorum Cum

[1] The relics of S. Stephen were, according to S. Augustine, discovered in A.D. 415. An account of the translation of the same from Constantinople to Rome will be found in the article 'Stephanus' in Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*.

nutrice sua cum cuncta plebe suorum Romanus miles triphonia uirgo qurilla Et quadraginta quos passio continet illa Iustinus sacer defunctos qui tumulabat Curiaca uidua que sanctos eciam recreabat Huius matrone fuit haec possessio cara Ipsius nomen specialiter contiuet ara. This is þe sentens of þese uers. This temple conteynyth of seyntis bodies fele [1] Of whech seyntis þou man aske sum help. With sixte þe pope* lith laurens brent in þe fir̃. The first martir steuene eke he lith her̃. The man ypolitus with wild hors drawe to þe deth Lith her̃ with his norys and all þe seruauntis of his hous Romanus þe knyth triphonia þe mayde and quirille And xl mo as her̃ passiou telleth ful pleyn Justinus þe prest þat byried þis puple with dreed Curiaca þe widow whech fed þis puple ful oft On to þis woman þis same place longid sum tyme | Hir name is ȝet on þe auter̃ ful specialy sette.[2] These be þe relikes eke in seynt laurens cherch | a grete ston of white marbil with certeyn holes on which his body was fried on whech stou a mau may ȝet se þe blood and þe fatnesse of his body. Ther̃ is eke a grete pece of þe gredil [3] on whech he was rosted, and of his maner of tormentrie be grete opiniones þer̃,[4] sum sey þat þe ston lay a boue þe gridel summe sey it lay be nethe. There is schewid eke þe lauour̃ of copir with whech he baptized all þat cam on to
f. 383 v him / for þat cause. There be schewid alsoo iii stones al blody whech wer̃ þrowyn at seynt steuene. With to of hem þei persed on to his braynes and with þe þird þei smet him down. The indulgens of þis place as þei sey is grete euery day uii ȝere as many lentenes & þe þird part remission of all synne. In þe festis of steuene and laurens a c ȝer and þat dureth be

[1] many, Germ. *viel*.

[2] De Rossi mentions this inscription, which still exists. It, however, contains four more lines (at the end), which are not given by our chronicler. He says that the inscription was generally to be found in the books of indulgences and relics which were used by pilgrims in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (*Bollettino d'Arch. Crist.*, Ser. 3, An. 6, Rome, 1881, p. 86 sq.). S. Hippolytus appears to have been a Roman officer whose duty it was to guard S. Lawrence; he was so struck with his constancy that he was converted and baptized by him. His nurse's name was Concordia; they both suffered martyrdom on the same day in A.D. 258, Hippolytus by being dragged by wild horses, and Concordia by being scourged to death (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, August, vol. iii, p. 4). S. Romanus was a soldier of the Imperial Guard under Valerian and Gallienus, who, witnessing the tortures preceding the martyrdom of S. Laurence, was so struck by his patience and fortitude that he embraced Christianity, and was baptized by the saint before his death. He was beheaded outside the Porta Salaria, and buried in the *Agro Verano* by the priest Justinus (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, August, vol. ii, p. 408). SS. Tripbonia and Quirilla were mother and daughter. The former is said by some authorities (amongst which is the *Mart. Rom.*) to have been wife of the Emperor Decius. This, however, was not so; but she may have been a relative, or perhaps the slave of his wife. She was baptized by the priest Justinus with her daughter, and both were martyred on the following day (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, October, vol. viii, p. 313 sq.).

[3] Over the word 'gridil' is written 'gridian'.

[4] The gridiron is now at S. Lorenzo in Lucina.

þe octaue. An as is seid þeꝛ and writyn in autentik bokes who so euyr uisitith þis cherch eu*e*ry wednysday he schal delyueꝛ a soule fro purgatorye. Of whech mateꝛ is fou*n*de in wrytyng swech a meruelous uision. Ther was sumtyme a holy man in þat place ful of uertu keper of þat cherch in a nyth as he lay not a slepe but wakyng he say sei*n*t laure*n*s entir be þe est side of þe cherch be þe wyndow and many fayre ȝong folk hangyng on his skirtis. The seynt cam on to þis man and seid on to him þus. Wete þou wel þat I am laure*n*s patron of þis cherch whech stand in goddis p*re*sens *con*tiniely praying for aⱡⱡ þoo þat haue spec*i*al deuocio*u*n to me and eu*e*ry Wednisday for þat day was I martired haue I a spec*i*al co*m*missio*u*n of ouꝛ lord þat I descende to purgatoꝛie where as many soules as may cacch hold of me aꝛ delyu*e*red fro þat peyne. Theꝛfor þou and aⱡⱡ oþir beth bysy to do sum spec*i*al seruyse on to god and me for ȝe schul haue spec*i*al reward better þan ȝe gan gesse. This seyd ye martir with aⱡⱡ his felawchip ascendid up to heuene syngi*n*g þis antyme. In craticula te dom*i*n*u*m no*n* negaui &c*ra*. He be gan it and þei song it forth. This same story is writyn in a elde legend whech þe monkes of charter hous usen and a clerk þei clepe osbert makith mynde of þe same in his book of epistoles.[1]

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## Of þe cherch cleped s̄c̄a maria maior. cā uii.

Now schal we speke of a cherch þei clepe s̄c̄a maria maior in englisch we may calle it seynt marie þe more.[2] But whi it is cleped so ȝe schul here.

[1] There are several Osherts, writers on theological subjects. The first was a Benedictine, Precentor of Canterbury Cathedral in the eleventh century, and a friend of Lanfranc. He wrote a Life of S. Dunstan, &c. The second was also a Benedictine, who came from Clare or Stoke Clare in England. He lived in the twelfth century, and wrote the Life of S. Edward and other works. The third was Osbert Pickengham, a Carmelite, and Doctor of Paris in the fourteenth century. He was the author of various theological treatises (Moreri, *Dictionnaire historique*).

[2] The Basilica of S. Mary Major was founded near the *Macellum Liviae* in the year 352; it was enlarged by Sixtus III about eighty years later, after which its name was changed from *Basilica Siciniana* to *Basilica S^ae Mariae ad praesepe*. It was also known as *S. Maria in superaggio*, in allusion to the agger of Servius Tullius. Great additions to the church were made by Nicholas IV at the end of the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth century Alexander VI gilded the ceiling with the first gold which came from America. Sixtus V and Paul V constructed the two chapels which bear their names; finally, the modern façade was constructed by Benedict XIV in 1741, replacing that of Eugenius III of the twelfth century. The beautiful campanile is the work of Gregory XI, and was built after his return to Rome from Avignon (Armellini, p. 383; Marucchi, p. 149; Adinolfi, vol. ii, p. 148). Muffel gives an interesting account of a chapel which he saw in S. Maria Maggiore; it was then (1452) being decorated by a pious Roman lady by permission of Nicholas V (then Pope). Our Lady had appeared

Be for þis cherch was mad þere was no cherch in rome in memorie of oure lady. And þerfor ouꝛ lady appered on to a certeyn mau of rome comaunding him with his good to make þis cherch for it is a fayꝛ house large and plesaunt to þe sith costful eke specialy in the pauyment. For it was þe first was mad and eke it is þe largest of alł þerfor is it called maior. In what maneꝛ it be gan and be what myracle it was mad þus fynde we wrytyn iu þe clde stories of þe cherch. In þe tyme of liberius þe pope * not he þat was sone aftir constantyn but a noþir whech is cleped liberius þe ȝonger. In his tyme was in rome a man þat had mech þe gouernauns of rome for emperouris at yat tyme ne now as feꝛ as I can se haue lytyl dominacion þere. This man as þe bokis sey hith jon a holy mau deuoute iuste and trewe whech had a wif of þe same proporcioun in holynesse deuocioun
f. 384 r rithwisnesse / and treuth. They prayed euery day to ouꝛ lady of hie deuocyoun þat þei myth leue in þis world to þe pleasauns of ouꝛ lord and eke þei prayed euterly þat þoo worldly goodis of whech þei hadde grete habundauns schuld be expendid in sum werk whech weꝛ plesauns on to hir son. Aftir þis lyf many ȝeres continued ouꝛ lady appered on to þe seid pope * and to þis same jon eke on to his wyf for alł þei in o moment had o maner auisioun. Sche sayde on to hem who þat grete cyte had rered up many a solempne hous in worchip of dyuers seyntis and non in al þat cite was dedicate to hiꝛ wherfoꝛ it plesed hir son þat sche schuld merke þe ground and þei schuld edyfye þe werk. And þat þei myth knowe weel þat sche whech appered was modir on to crist and eke þat þis was þe wil of crist þat þis hous schuld be edified sche told hem who þt sche had merkid al þe ground with snow whеꝛ þat sche þout hir hous schuld stande. And in encresing of þe myracle þat snow schuld[1] down so habundauntly sche saide hem þat it was ageyns þe kynde of þat tyme of þe ȝere for þis was do þe u day of August. This man jon aros in þe morownyng and as he went forby þis hiłł whech is cleped mons superaggius he say al þe top þerof snow. Tho went he forth to telle þe pope * of þis myracle and he fond him redy whech had sent for þe cardynales and þe puple of þe cyte for he wold with solempne proccssion both se þis myracle and begynne þese grounde s. Thus go þei forth alł in fere and at þat same day þei opened þe grounde s as þe snow schewid. Aftirward with

to this woman in a vision, which event was followed by a miracle. The Roman lady would seem to have begun a picture of the Virgin in this chapel, and it was costing her more than she could afford to expend. She began to beg for the purpose, by order of our Lady, who in the vision ordered her to go towards S. Paul's Church, and ask the first person whom she met for alms. First a man passing her gave her two gulden, and then a woman gave her two more gulden ; but when she opened her hand she found she had six gulden, and the story ends thus : ' ist allererst geschehen im gnadenreichen jar, das im tausent virhuudert und im zweiund funfzigsten jar gewest ist ' (Muffel, p. 33).

[1] ' falle ' in margin of MS.

ricchesse of þis jon þis cherch was mad to his *per*feccion and he him selue with his wif is biried þ*er*e in a conk of red ston þei clepe porphirie ston fast be þe dore þat goth to seynt antonye. In þe hie auter of þe cherch restith þe hody of seynt mathie þe apostil. And in a noþir auter hy þe hody of seynt ierom doctour. There is also a ymage of our lady whech seynt luce mad. Ther be eke þe hodies of þese popes* honory eugeny gregory pelagii & nicholas. Ther is þe arme of seynt luk þe euangelist | þe arme o seynt mathew þe euangelist | þe hed of seynt uyuyane þe uirgine[1] | †þe arme of seynt thomas of cau*n*tirhyry and of his uestment†[2] | þe cradill þat crist was leyd in | þe mauio*ur* with þe hey of whech þe hestes ete wher crist was hore | þe hosen of seynt joseph | þe mylk of our lady | and mech oþir þiug. These he þe indulgens grau*n*ted to þe same place. In þe dedicacou*n* of þe same cherch ii mł ȝere and þe þird part remissiou*n* of al mauer synne. Euery day þorw oute þe ȝer ar grau*n*ted xxuiii ȝere in lenton þe pardon is dobled. In euery fest of our lady a hundred ȝere. Fro þe assu*m*pciou*n* of oure lady on to hir uatiuite is grau*n*ted euery day xiiii hundred ȝer. The su*m*me of al þe pardon of þis cherch is hald þ*er*e ful grete.

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Of þe / stacion at seynt Sabine. cap uiii. f. 384 v

Now wil we speke of all þoo cherches where þe stacioucs be holden in lento*n* but ȝe schal undirstaud þat þe staciones he sumtyme at þese same cherchis.[3] Seynt Gregory as we redyn ordeyned þese staciones and was at hem him selue and prechid þere as we may uotabilly parceyue in many of his omelies. It is cleped a staciou*n* a stando for staciou*n* is as mech to sey as to staud aftir walkyng. For pilg*ri*mes walkyn þe sercle with grete labour and su*m*me rest neuyr tyl al her labour be dou. Wherfor þis holy doctor gregory ordeyned þat eu*er*y day schuld be a masse iu a certeyn place and þ*er*e schuld men rest and her þat masse. Eke for to encrese her deuocyon mor on to þis dede he grau*n*ted on to þat cherch wher þe stacyon is as mech pardon as is in al rome as for þat day. And þis is þe cause as I suppose þat fewe romanes walk þe sercle but þe staciou*n* as a man may pleynly se.

[1] S. Bibiana (the Roman S. Swithin) was the daughter of the Roman knight Flavian and his wife Dafrosa, who were also martyrs. She was brought with her sister S. Demetria before Apronian in the year 363, during the reign of Julian the Apostate; she was then cruelly tortured and beaten to death. Her body was thrown to wild beasts, but was secretly buried by a priest named Johannes in the neighbourhood of the Licinian palace (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*).

[2] From † to †, the reference to S. Thomas à Becket, has been erased by striking it through with the pen, but it is quite legible.

[3] 'be for seid' in margin of MS.

The first stacion on puluyr wednisday is at a cherch yei clepe seynt sabine[1] bc whech cherch stant a ful fayr̃ place whech was þe paleys of eufermiane fader on to seynt alexe. In þat place haue þe frer̃ prcchoures a couent and þis same cherch haue þei annexid yerto. This cherch and þis couent stant on a hiłł þei clepe it mons auentiu.us of whech we spoke be for̃ in þe capitule de montibus. Now wil we telle ȝou what we haue red of þis same sabiue. This woman was doutyr on to ou of þe heroudes whech was clepid herodes mettallarius for dyfferens fro oþir heraudis was he so clepid. Schc was wcddid on to a worthy man of rome cleped ualentine and aftir his deth sche drow to felauchip of a worþi woman and holy aftirward martired for crist whech þei cleped seraphia. This seraphia taut þe feith of our̃ lord to þis same sabine first, and aftirward brout hir̃ on to þe knoulech of holy prestis of whom sche receyued hir sacramentis. Thus with þis seraphia dwelt þis same sabine in holy conuersacioun on to þe tyme þat þis forseid seraphia was a restid led on to þe iuge and condcmpned on to þe deth only for sche beleued in our̃ lord ihū crist. This same sabyne folowid on to hir̃ passion and aftir hir deth took hir body and byried it iu ye same graue whech was ordeyued for hir selue. Aftir tyme þat mech of þis was doo but be for̃ þe deth of þis same seraphia a grcte president of rome cleped berillus called þis woman sabine on to him and þus he spak. Why doost þou þi selue so mech schame and makist þi selue so wiecchid. Why considerest nowt what þou art an whens þou cam. Thou hast ioyned þe in felauchip on to þese cristen folk and hast forgete þe noble birth þou cam of and þe worthy man whech weddid þe eke þou art notaferd of þe wretth of our̃ goddys. Turne a geyn woman
f. 385 r to þin / owne hous & fle þe cumpany of þat wicch whech hath deceyued þe and many oþir. Sabine ȝaue him þis answere. That same holy mayde whom þou slaundrest now ful on treuly wold god þou had herd[2] þe same councel þat þou myth forsake þe fals ydoles and knowe the uery god þat calleth good men to euyrlasting lyf and sendith euel men to euyrlastiug payn. This president berillus whan he had herd þese wordes lete hir go at large and seyd no mor̃ on to hir̃. This was doo be for̃ þc deth of seraphia for aftir hir deth sche was a rened and brout to a iuge þei cleped helpidius whech seid ou to hir̃ at hir̃ first apperiug. Thou art sabine wyf on to þat worthi mau ualeutine and doutyr on to heraude whech was of ful grete dignite. Sche answerd I am þat same and blessed be our̃ lord ihū þat be þe

[1] The church of S. Sabina was commenced under Celestine I about 425, and completed under Sixtus III about 432. Honorius III lived there, as did Honorius IV. The former allowed S. Dominic to occupy part of his fortified palace attached to the church. Eugenius III and Gregory IX were also benefactors of the church (Armellini, p. 582; Marucchi, p. 184; Nibby, p. 688).

[2] 'of hir̃' in margin of MS.

labour of seynt seraphia hath brout me fro þe onclennesse of þe delues[1] power on to þe fredam of our lord. The iuge whan he herd þis and say hir grete constauns in þe feith pronounsed þe sentens of hir deth in þis forme. Sabine inobedient on to þe goddis and despising our lordis þe emperouris we comaunde to be heded with a swerd and all hir godes to be arested on to þe comown profith. Thus was sche slayn þe xiiii kalendis of septembir and pryuyly caried be nyth of cristen men and byried be seraphia maystresse of hir feith.[2] In þis same cherch be many relikes whech I wrote not. O memoriale say I yere of seynt dominik for it is seid whan he was besy to haue his ordre confermed he prayed mech with grete wecch in þat same cherch and þe deuel þat hath enuye with euery good dede þrew a grete ston as mech or mor þan a mannes hed to a slayn him but be grete myracle it felle be side and raf[3] a marbil ston doyng him no harm. Of þis story are wrytyn þere swech uers. Credidit orantem iacto confundere saxo Hic sanctum dominicum hostis uersutus set ipsum Illesum dominus seruat mirabile factum Marmoris illisi confraccio monstrat in euum Hijs' quod fidem prebet suspensus & iste molaris. The sentens of þe uers is þis. He supposed whil he preyed to destroye him with yis ston. Here in þis place seynt dominic our wikkid enmy he supposed soo. But our lord kept his seruaunt fro harm a meruelous tale. The marbil þat is hurt her berith witnesse for euyr. And eke a grete euydens of þe treuth is þe ston þat hangith her.

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Of þe stacion at þe cherch of *seint* george. cā ix.

The þursday be fore þe first sunday of lenton is þe stacion at a cherch of seynt george[4] wher þat his hed is schewid his spere and þe banȝer with whech he killid þe dragon. The hed stant þere on a auter þat day in a

[1] ? devil's.

[2] S. Sabina is coupled with S. Seraphia in the *Acta Sanctorum*, and the facts related regarding her life agree generally with those here given. Some ancient authors describe her as having been a virgin martyr, but she was, according to accepted accounts, the widow of Valentinus and the daughter of Herod Metallarius, as our chronicler says. Her church in Rome is said to have been built on the site of her ancestral home (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon* (under SS. Seraphia and Sabina); *Acta Sanctorum*, August, vol. vi, p. 496).

[3] raf, obs. p. t. of rive = riven.

[4] The church of S. George *in Velabro* was a *diaconia*, founded before the sixth century in the *Velabrum*, the ancient name of the quarter of the city where it stands. It was restored by Leo II, S. Zacharias, and Gregory IV, who adorned it with mosaics, and added two porticos. Boniface VIII created Cardinal Stefaneschi cardinal of the title; the latter ordered Giotto to decorate the apse with frescoes which have since been destroyed. Cardinal Newman was titular of this church, and up to a few years ago his coat of arms was to be seen there. Since his death no cardinal has been appointed to this title, and the church is practically closed, except on S. George's Day and the day of the station (Armellini, p. 253; Marucchi, p. 266).

tab*er*nacle of syluyr and gilt mad soo þat a man may lyft up certeyn part
þerof and touche and kisse þe bare skul.[1] Oþir hedis be schewid þ*er*e whech
f. 385 v be now oute / of rem*em*beraun*s*. But as tonching seynt george be cause þis
lond haldith him in grete reue*r*ens sumwhat of his lyf wil we touch. In þe
grete cou*n*cel þat was hald at nycene a cyte in grece þ*er*e þe lif of þis seynt
was a nou*m*birid a mo*n*gis apocripha. Apoc*r*ifum is as mech to sey as whan
þe treuth of a þing is in doute or ellis men haue no certeyn who was make῀
or write῀ of þat mate῀. But þe cou*n*ceⱡⱡ at þat time det*er*mined þat he was
worthi to be anou*m*bired a mongis þe holy martires of crist. P*er*auentu῀
þei had a lif with sum ueyn tales whech cam neuyr to ou῀ handis. But for
þ$^{t}$ þei at þat tyme whech we῀ faderes of þe cherch a nou*m*bered hi*m* a mong*is*
þe holy martires þ*er*for may we suppose ueryly þat mech whech we rede þat
he ded or suffered was soth. As þat he was bore in þe lond of capadoce,
and þat he delyuered þe mayde fro þe dragon, and killed þat best whech
dede was cause of *con*uer*c*ion both of þe kyng and eke of þe cyte. And whan
he schuld goo fro þe kyng he taut hem iiii þingis. On þat he schuld be besy
to edifie chirchis in his lond. The secunde þat he schuld haue þe mynystris
of þe cherch in grete reue*r*ens. The þirde þat he schuld here þe sernyse of
god deuoutly. The fourt þat he schuld euyr be besy to releue pore me*n*. Al
þis þing touchid in his lyf is likly for to he soth. It is ful lich a treuth also
þat dacian p*r*esident of pers undir wikkid diocleciane compelled þis seynt to
thurifie and offir to þe deueles, and be cause he wold not consent to ydolatrie
þat he comau*n*ded him to many tormentis. First to be hanged on a gibet, yan῀
his sydes to be rent with yrun hokis, and bre*n*ny*n*g laum*p*es put to þe wou*n*des,
and aftir mech othir torme*n*trie his hed to be smet of. This is touchid schortly
of his passion þat men may knowe wel þat þe lege*n*de whech was hald suspect
in þe forseid cou*n*ceⱡⱡ is not come to on῀ handis, hut p*er*auentu῀ þe treuthis
were drawen onte þ*er*of and left to us and þe othir suspecte þingis þrow be
side. So rede we þat seynt ierom seyd of origenes bokes, for certeyn enmyes
of origene in slau*n*der of his name had planted her*es*ies a mong*is* his treuthis,
so ferforth þat sey*n*t ierom was fayn for to sey. Sic lego origenem tanquam
colligens rosas de spinis. So rede I he seith origen as þou I schuld gader
roses fro þornes. Suffisith þis as for þe memorie of seynt george. But a
mong*is* stndious men is meuyd þis doute.[2] Whi yat þe region of ynglond

[1] The head of S. George was in the church as late as 1891. Chanoine de Bleser mentions it in his *Guide du Voyageur dans la Capitale du Monde Chrétien* (one of the most exact modern hooks ahout relics in Roman churches), vol. i, p. 228. Recent inquiry shows that the relic in question is still in the sacristy of the church, but that it is no longer exposed. The reliquarium in which it is kept is a modern one.

[2] The history of S. George is ohscure to this day. The so-called *Acta* regarding him were rejected by the Council at Rome under Gelasius I in 494, as heing the work of Arians. This gave rise to a belief that S. George had never existed. He would, however,

hath þis seynt in so spec*i*al reu*er*ens þat þei make him a pr*in*cipal capteyn in her batayles and trost up on him moost aftir god. Many þing*is* haue I herd in þis mater but of non auctorite and þ*er*for wil I leue it rith as I fynde. I rede weel þat a spec*i*al tuycion ouyr all cristen men hath þis seynt and þis rede I in a story is cleped historia antiochena wher þat he tellith þus. Whan þe last sege was at / ierlm and cristen men went þidir to conquer þe f. 386 r cyte þ*er*e appered a fayre 3ong man on to a prest þat dwelt in þat place wher þe body of seynt george rested in perse, and comaun*d*ed þe same prest to take þe body and cary it forth with þe ost for þei schuld spede mech þe bettir as he seide. Whan þei came to þe cyte and schul skale þe wallis þe cristen men wer gretely a ferd for þe sarsines, most for her schotte þat was so habun*d*an*t*. Tho appered on to hem þe same 3ong man in white clothis and a reed crosse þ*er*in he bad hem þat þei schuld folow him and put a wey al fere. So dede þei and wu*n*ne þe cyte to ye grete honour of cristen men and grete confusion of sarsines.

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Of þe staciou*n* at þe cherch of jon & paule. cap^m^.x.

The friday after puluyr wednysday is þe staciou*n* at a cherch þei clepe johannis & pauli it stant fast be þe monastery of seynt andrew þe monki_s_ of seynt andrew sey þat þese same seyntis jon & paule be translate & ly a mong*is* hem.[1] Wel wote I þat whan þe staciou*n* is þe puple uisitith both cherchis but þe grete sole*m*pnite and al þe tariing of þe puple, eke c*er*teyn þingis whech þei selle þ*er*e at staciones al þis is at þe cherch of

appear to have been honoured in very early times; and the doubt which arose later may in part be the cause of the legends (e.g. that of the dragon) which have grown up around his name. We may, however, accept that he suffered martyrdom under Diocletian in Nicomedia, or Lydda, in the year 303. According to Metaphrastes, he was born of a good family in Cappadocia; after his father's death he went with his mother to Palestine, her native country, and where she had much property at Lydda, between Joppa and Jerusalem. He joined the army and attained high rank and honour under Diocletian; but later, when he became a Christian, was barbarously tortured and finally decapitated by the orders of the emperor. While one need not accept all the Acts regarding him, the Liturgies and, above all, the Sacramentarium of Gregory the Great are practically incontrovertible proofs of his existence and of his martyrdom. The Council held in Oxford in 1222 ordered his feast-day to be solemnly kept throughout England every year (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, April, vol. iii, p. 100).

[1] The monastery of S. Andrew here mentioned was attached to the church of S. Gregory the Great. The monastery (which preceded the church) was founded by S. Gregory in his own paternal home; he also built a church, which he attached to it and dedicated to S. Andrew. After his death the monastery was abandoned, but Gregory II restored it, and erected another church, which he dedicated to his namesake. This church was completely altered by Cardinal Scipio Borghese in 1633, and again rebuilt by the monks in 1725 (Armellini, p. 290; Marucchi, p. 212).

johannis & pauli.[1] Be side þe cherch is a fayr̃ place þat longith to a cardinal, and on þe oþir side as we go forth to þe collise was a grete paleys of whech stand ȝet many hye wallis and meruelous uoutes. In þis cherch is ful grete indulgens þat day, but we þink best at þis tyme to telle sumwhat of þe lyf of þese seyntes and whi þei wer̃ dede as we cast us for to do of alle othir. Thei were with constaunce doutir on to constantine in houshold, on of hem was steward of hir house þe othir was chambirleyn and whan þe woman deyed of þe grete good whech sche left sche mad þese men hir aturnes. Thei as goode and trew men disposed þes ricchesse on to cristen men in many sundry degrees mete and drynk and clothis[2] was euery day. This herd julianus þe emperour̃ whech is cleped apostata for he was first lerned in þe feith and aftirward he forsoke it[3] and be cause he was passing couetous he coloured his couetise with þe gospell̃ whech seith to cristen men. But if ȝe forsake al þat ȝe haue ȝe may not be my disciples. Thus robbid þis tyraunt all̃ cristen men and he herd sey as we rehersed of þe grete elmesse ȝouen be ion and paule he sent on to hem þat þei schuld come on to his presens. Thei sent him a geyn swech an answere. For þi wikkidnesse

[1] The church of SS. John and Paul is helieved to have been erected hy Byzantius and his son Pammachius in the fourth century, over the house in which the two saints lived and suffered martyrdom. It was first known under the name of the *titulus Pammachii*. Pammachius was a friend of S. Jerome, and is mentioned hy him in his letters. The church was restored hy Symmachus in the fifth century, also hy Hadrian I and Leo III in the latter half of the eighth. The heantiful apse, the portico, and perhaps the fine pavement were constructed in 1159 hy Hadrian IV, the English Pope. Cardinal Howard, in 1677, placed the hodies of the two saints under the high altar of the upper church; hut it was not till 1887 that the excavations of Father Germano made the interesting suhterranean dwelling-house of the saints, and the frescoes contained therein, accessible (Armellini, p. 276; Nihhy, p. 266; Marucchi, p. 203).

[2] '& þat' in margin of MS.

[3] For mediaeval legends regarding Julian the Apostate see Graf, *Roma nella memoria*, &c., vol. ii, ch. xiv, p. 121. Godfrey of Viterho, in his *Pantheon* (Pertz, vol. xxii, p. 180), says, referring to his attempt to restore the Temple at Jerusalem:—

Templa tremnnt, pavimenta ruunt et tigna sub illis
Ignihus e celis pereunt exusta favillis,
Exiliunt lapides, area sola manet.
Igneus ex templo globus est, emissus in illos
Incendens homines vestes caput atqne capillos,
Astantesque viri iure cremantur ibi.
Haec ne fortuitn mala provenisse pntentur,
Signa crucis confixa sihi gestare videntur,
Gestant Iudei corpora signa dei.

But, in truth, the hatred of Julian was so great, that some of the stories ahout him are too horrible to repeat here; there is, however, one exception, a very notahle one. The author of the *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* (eighth or ninth century) says: 'Iuliano apostata imperatore facto, ad idolorum cultum converso, hlanda persecutio fuit, inliciens magis quam impellens ad sacrificandum, in qua multi voluntate propria corrueruut.' A very remarkable instance of toleration and fair-mindedness in such an epoch.

haue we left þi lordchip for we be not fals feyned cristen as þou *pre*tendist but trew seruau*n*tis on to ou*r* lord. He sent hem a geyn a new message undyr swech wordis. ȝe þat were norchid in þe emp*er*oures hous it is not semly þat ȝe schuld withdraw ȝou fro my presens for if it be so þat I be despised of ȝou it is nedful to me to make swech ordinan*n*s þat neythir ȝe ne non oþir schul be dis/piseres of þe empi*r*. Paule and ion sent him þis f. 386 v
answere þat þei dispised him nowt in swech degre þat þei worchiped ony oþir man more þan him but þei put be for him in worchip þat lord þat hath his lordchip both ouyr heuene and erde, and be cause þat his comau*n*dmentis were *con*trarious to þis hye lordis wil þ*er*for þei sent hym word þat þei wold neuyr come to his p*re*sens. Jnlian*us* sent on to he*m* a geyn and seyd þus. Ten dayes schul be ȝoue ȝou of auisem*en*t at þe ten day if ȝe come I schal receyue ȝou as my frendys if ȝe come nowt I wil punch ȝou as myn open enmyes. Alle þese dayes were þese seyntis ful bysi for to gyue a wey al þat euyr þei had on to po*r* cristen men. On þe tent day cam terrencian*us* a grete lord with juliane with a ymage formed aftir jubiter comau*n*ding hem on þe emperoures name þat þei schuld worchip þis ymage as a god. They answered rith thus. Juliane if he be þi lord haue pes with him. To us is no othir lord but þe fadir and þe sun and þe holy gost whom he was not aferd to forsake. And be cause he is now þrowyn fro þe face of god þ*er*for wold he bring oþir men to þe same fal. Aftir þis comunicacio*u*n þis same terrenciane ded make a pitte in her owne hous al be nyth comau*n*ded he*r* hedes to be smet of, wonde all in clothis and byried hem þus makyng a cry in þe morownyn*g* be auctorite of þe emp*er*ou*r* þat þei were exiled oute of þe cite of rome. This was þe ende of þese martires.[1] Sone aftir þis was julian*us* killid in þe batayl of pers and aftir him jouimane þe emp*er*ou*r* be cause he was a cristen man ȝaue leue to all cristen men to open he*r* cherchis and ex*er*cise goddis seruyse as þei had do be fore. Thoo deueles with inne men were put oute specialy in þe hous of ion and paule crying and diuulgi*n*g here holy passion in so mech þat þe son of þe forseid terrenciane whech was obcessid with a deuele cam on to þat same hous of jon and paule and þe deuele with inne him cried þat ion and paule brent him.

[1] The account, as given by our chronicler, of these two Roman saints is correct in all details. They appear to have been martyred in secret on June 26, 362, a report being afterwards spread that they had been exiled. But SS. Crispus, Crispinianus, and Benedicta found the bodies of the martyrs in response to their prayers; but they also, on refusing to sacrifice to false gods, were in their turn beheaded. It is interesting to note that the two saints were held in great reverence in England: for, by the order of the Council held in Oxford in the year 1222, it was laid down that on their feast-day it was obligatory to hear Mass before commencing the day's work. It is just possible that they were confused with S. John the Evangelist and S. Paul the Apostle (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, June, vol. v, p. 158).

That herd þe fadir he cam þidir and askid forgifnes of his trespas and be fore his eyne his sone was cured, eke þei both at esterne folowing wer̃ mad cristen men for so was þe usage þanne. This same terrenciane endited þe lif and þe martirdam of þese seyntis for he coude best be cause he was at þe ende.

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Of þe stacion at seynt triphonis. cap̃ xi.

The satirday aftir puluyr wednisday is þe stacion at seynt triphonis an elde cherch it is and anexid on to þe cherch is a couent of freres whech we clepe comounly heremitis of seynt austyn.[1] In þis cherch lith seynt triphon & seynt respicius whcch was his felaw. Thedir is eke neuly translate þe body of seynt monica modir to seynt austyn. Ther̃ be alsoo þe bodies of seynt felice pope *,[2] seynt auree[3] & longii martires, þe hed of seynt menne & many oþir. Who seynt monica cam þidir and in whos tyme with

f. 387 r H of I was frere in margin al þe declaracion wer̃ long to telle who wil rede it / he may se it a book þat I mad titiled to seynt austin whech is cleped concordia because it is a maner̃ of a concord be twix chanonys and us.[4] The sentens of þat translacioun

[1] S. Trifone *in posterula* was built by Crescentius, Prefect of Rome, in the year 957, under John XII, *iuxta posterulas*, in the street now called the Via della Scrofa. It was pulled down to construct the Augustinian convent now occupied by the Ministry of Marine (Armellini, p. 651; Nibby, p. 699). '¶ Zu sant Tryfon lyget nahet by sant Augustin' (*Ein Büchlin*, &c., Strasshurg, 1500, p. E vi v, B.M.).

[2] S. Felix IV, fifty-fourth Pope in order from S. Peter, was elected in 526, after S. John I's death in prison during the reign of Theodoric. He was a worthy Pope, and did much work in building and adorning churches. More especially he converted the Temple of Romulus into a church (SS. Cosmo and Damian); restored the Basilica of S. Satnrninns, which had been destroyed by fire; and completed that of S. Stephen. He lived into the reign of Athalaric, and died in 529 or 530, being buried at S. Peter's (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, January, vol. ii, p. 1032; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. i, p. 279).

[3] S. Aurea was martyred at Ostia in the middle of the third century by being thrown into the sea with a stone ronnd her neck. On referring to S. Censurinus, S. Mennas is amongst those who suffered on the same occasion (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*). The *Anonymus* of *Einsiedeln* (ed. Hülsen), ch. xiii, n. 12, p. 42, mentions a church of S. Menna, which Armellini thinks was dedicated to the celebrated Egyptian martyr, S. Mennas. It stood on the celebrated portico from the Vatican to S. Paul's. Leo IV and Pascal I restored and adorned it, but it is not mentioned after the tenth century (Armellini, p. 742).

[4] There appears to have been an entry in the margin of the MS. here, probably giving the name of the chronicler. Most unfortunately it has been trimmed off, leaving only the few letters given in the margin of the hook. From the context it would appear that the chronicler was an Augustinian friar, and author of another work called *Concordia*. Search has been made for this in the *Anastasis Augustiniana* (Antwerp, 1614); Narducci's Catalogue, 1893, of the Angelica Library; *Dissertatio historica de ducentis celeberrimis Augustinorum scriptoribus*, Rome, 1704; Curtius Cornelius, *Vivorum illustrorum*

I wil write heꝛ schortly. The pope * martyn þat was last at instans of a freꝛ of ouꝛ ordre called petir bischop electens*is* sexten on to þe pope * þat tyme for so it is comou*n*ly þat þis ordre hath þat office.[1] Be instau*n*ce also of a gret clerk cleped augustinus de roma ge*n*e*r*al of þat ordre for þat tyme[2] ȝaue leue þat freres of þis ordre schuld goo to hostie and bryng þis body to rome to þt same place of seynt tɼiphonis of whech place þis spe*c*ial chapetꝛ is mad. He þout he seid in his bull *con*uenie*n*t þat sith þe cherch hath dete*r*mined þat he*r*emites of þis ordre be þe uery childyrn of seyn austyn and eke for þe cherch be real powꝛ brout hem in to pauy whꝛ þei haue possessiou*n* of þe body of seynt austyn it was also *con*uenie*n*t þat þei whech haue þe son schuld also haue þe modir. This translacion was mad þe ȝere of ouꝛ lord o mt ccccxx swech tyme as palme sunday fell o þe ix day of april. Now of þese seyntis of whom þe place is dedicate triphon and respicius wil we speke. Thei both were bore in asie of good kynrod of nobil condicion and of grete disposicio*n* on to uertu. Whan þei were on of hem xii ȝere old þe oþir xiiii happed to mete with a cristen prest whech baptized hem whech taute hem þe feith and grou*n*dly lerned hem many treuthis of scriptuꝛ. Aftir þei had take informacio*n* of þis man þei went forth in þe cuntꝛ whꝛ þei fel in felauchip with a ȝong child of here age and aftir her aqueyntau*n*ce þis same was gretely hurt of a se*r*pent he made his querimonie on to þese seyntis and prayed heu of help for he knew wel he seid þat ouꝛ lord god had grau*n*ted hem grace to hole swech sores. Tho triphon prayed on to ouꝛ lord with swech wordis. O lord lite of oure soules incline þin eres on to ouꝛ prayeres and send ouꝛ felaw sum reles of his peyne þat all þis puple may knowe þe for uery lord hauy*n*g powꝛ ouyr al þing. Thus was þe child sodeynly mad hool. A noþir grete myracle ded þei be þe wey to a greke & eke a marchau*n*d þat fell down sodeynly ded iu heꝛ sith þei reisid him fro deth to lif and ȝoue him swech exhortacion þat he forsoke þe world and folowid crist forth all his lyf. Thus fro asie iu to rome in eue*r*y town or castell whꝛ þei restid þei prechid þe feith of ouꝛ lord ihū crist and ded many myracles in encresing of þe feith. So come to rome and dwelt þe*re* in empoure philippis tyme but undir decius þe empe*r*ouꝛ were þei martired be þe meyr of rome aquiline. First were þei put in prison kept fro mete and drynk fro comfort eke of all cristen men, þanne were þei drawe oute of prison

*ex ordine eremit. D. Aug.*, Antwerp, 1636, 4°; and Elssius Phil. *Encomiasticon*; but no trace of the present book, nor of one called *Concordia* by an Austin friar, can be found about this date (1450).

[1] Peter, Bisbop of Alet in Brittany, was forty-five years sacristan and librarian to tbe Pope; died 1440, in France (*Chron. Ord. Frat. Erem. S. August.*, p. 77 v, Rome, 1581).

[2] Augustinus Romanus, episcopus Nazianzenus et Cesenensis; appointed General of Order 1419 (p. 73); died 1443 (p. 79 v) (*Chron. Ord. Frat. Erem. S. August.*, Rome, 1581).

onto tormentrye and euyr weꝛ þei redy to aꝉ manerꝛ peynes putting of heꝛ cloþis with good wil. Whann þei schuld be betyn offeryng hem selue redy to
f. 387 v aꝉ manerꝛ tormentrye. In aꝉ heꝛ peynes þe / meyhir aquylinus cryed on to hem with swech wordis. Knowe weel ȝe ȝong men þat no man schal do a geyn þe comaundment of þe myty emperouris but þei schul abyden ful bittir peynes. And þis answerꝛ þei gaue him a geyn. Be þou sikyr alsoo þat no man schal be inobedient to þe heuenely comaundmentis but he schal be punchid with helle tormentis. Tho he lete hem down fro þe gibbet wheꝛ þei weꝛ scorgid and comaunded þe soles of heꝛ feet to be smet ful of nayles and soo to be led þrow oute þe cyte in þe grete cold of wyntir, for heꝛ day of heꝛ deth and martirdam is a boute þe fest of seint martyne. Last of aꝉ he comaunded heꝛ hedes to be smet of and so þei knelyng and praying receyued heꝛ martirdam for ouꝛ lordis sake. Thus regne heꝛ soules in heuene and heꝛ bodies in erd be had in mech worchip.[1]

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Of þe stacioun of seint jon lateranensis. caplm̃ xii.

The first sunday of lenton is þe stacion at seynt jon lateranensis of whech place we seid mech þing be fore in þe capitule made of þe same cherch. But here ȝet we þink it is resonable to reherse summe þingis perauentuꝛ left be foꝛ for it schal make þe boke moꝛ perfith and alsoo it schal not acombir þe rederis with no tariing for þe processe schal be succinct. This cherch is þe first cherch þat euer was rered in þe world for constantin him selue aftir his baptem halp for to digge þe groundis þerof and in þis same place is þe pope * crowned aftir his eleccioñ. For þis place was principal paleys of constantine whech place þe same constantine resigned on to siluester and eke þe diademe of his hed for he mad him temperal lord ouyr al þe west side of þe world. And þat þere schuld be no contrauersie be twix heꝛ officeres and heꝛ housholdis he remeued to constantinople and dwelt þere aꝉ his lyf. Mech þing ded þis holy emperouꝛ for þe cherch for aftir his baptem be uiii dayes euery day ded he a notable þing. The first day he mad a lawe and ded it pronounce þorw oute rome aftirward þorw out þe empiꝛ that crist schuld be honoured as a god and who so euyr

[1] SS. Tryphon and Respicius came, according to one account, from Phrygia, and suffered martyrdom under Decius during the winter of the year A.D. 250. Other stories differ as to their birth, standing, and age. Some say that S. Tryphon was a shepherd and of tender age, others that he was of noble birth and grown up. Respicius again, according to one account, was of the same age and standing, a companion and fellow convert of S. Tryphon; according to another, he was a heathen military officer, who was converted on seeing the constancy of the saint under torture. They are also sometimes associated with a S. Nympha, about whom little is known (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*).

dispised him schuld be treted as a traitour. The secund day was þis lawe mor largely expressid þat who so euyr blasphemed þe name of crist schuld be slayn. Blaspheme is undirstand her, whan men sey of crist oþirwise þan treuth as sum*m*e her*e*tikes seid þat he took no uery flesch ne blood of mary but þe body whech he took was formed of þe eyir whech body he myth transmute as he wold. Blaspheme is eke cleped whan we sey of crist oþir wise þan is to his worchip as þat he schuld do ony forfete or ony synne or giue meyntenau*n*s to ony swech þingis. The þird day made he þis lawe þat who so euyr ded ony cristen man ony wrong a non wit3 oute*n* ony oþir iugement he schuld lese half his godis. Befor þat tyme it was leful to eue*r*y man to robbe cristen m*e*n and bri*n*gge / hem to þe iuge and pursewe p. 388 r hem to þe deth. The iiii day he mad þis lawe þat euene as þe emp*e*rour of rome is sou*e*reyn lord of y^t^ empir so schuld þe bischop of rome be hed and sou*e*reyn of all bischoppis and þis lawe is grou*n*ded in þe gospell wher þat crist mad petir hed of all þe apostelis ioyned þ*e*rto þat praktik whan*n* petir chase his pr*i*ncipal sete at rome. The u day mad he þis lawe þat who so euyr fled to ony cherch for sauacion of his lyf þe cherch schuld saue him and þis lawe is nowe ful euel kept a mong*i*s us, god ne seyntis ne eke her houses are not hold in reue*r*ens as þei schuld.[1] The ui day was þis law mad þat no man schuld make no chirch in no cite ne town but if he had leue of þe bischop to whom þat town longith. The uii day ordeyned he þat þe tithes of all his possessiones schuld be gadered and treuly expendid in edificacio*n* of cherchis. The uiii day cam he to þat place wher now seynt petir cherch is and mekely asked for gifnesse of all his synne, aftirward tok a pickex and reisid þe grou*n*d þer þe wallis schuld be, eke of grete meknesse he bare oute of þe pitte of dikkid erde xii uessellis in worchip of þe xii aposteles.[2]

[1] The 'porta santa' appears to have been originally always open; even murderers who went through it were pardoned. According to Muffel it remained open 'pisz einer fresslich gemort het und ging dadurch und sprach: wers got lieb oder leyt, so wolt er hindurch geen und im müsten sein sünd vergeben werden'. This heing reported to the pope, he ordered the door to be walled up (p. 20). See also Rucellai, *Il Giubileo dell'anno santo 1450, Archiv. St. Pat.*, 1881, vol. iv, fasc. iv, p. 570.

[2] 'Item am ersten tag so const*a*ntinus getaufft ward gepöt er das man Jhesum cristum yn aller welt solte eren und an betten und yn halte*n* für einen waren got und herren. ¶ Am anderen tage gepöt der keyser wer eynem cristen ein leyd thet dem solt man sein gut halb neme*n*. ¶ Am dritten tage geböt er das Silvester solt seyn ei*n* bischoff zů Rome. ¶ An dem vierden tag geböt er und schůff in masz als er ein keiser und ein herre were yn d'welt uber alle herre*n*. Also solt sein ein romischer bischoff uber alle bischoff und uber alle priester die in der welt weren das wart darnach uber .ccc. iar bestetiget von dem kaiser focus,' &c. '¶ Am funfften tag geböt const*a*ntinus wer in eyn kirchen entrün der solt dar yn freyung haben vor gewalt was missetat er gethon hette. ¶ Am sechsten tage geböt der keiser das man kein kirchen solt mache*n* es erlaubet dan der pabst silvester. ¶ Am .vii tage geböt der keiser das man dem bischoff

Of þe stacyoun of seynt petir ad uinclā. caꝑ xiii.

The mun*d*ay aftir þe first sunday is þe stacion at a cherch þei clepe sc̄i petri ad uincula þ*er*e is schewid þe chene þat he was boun*d*e with at ierlm̄ pilg*r*imes kisse it and put it aboute heꝛ protes.[1] Of þis place fynd I mech writi*n*g and long whech I schal abreggin heꝛ. We rede wel þat aft*ir* þe ascencion of crist petir a bode stille at ierlm̄ and in þe cuntꝛ a houte. This witnessit seynt paule in his epistel ad galathas whech seith þat neUly aftir his *con*uercioñ he went up to ierlm̄ for to se petir and þ*er*e dwelt with him xu dayes. Thus petir dwellyng at ierlm̄ and preching þe feith of ouꝛ lord ran in offens of þe iewis whech hated crist and þei of malice acused him to heraūde þt was mad lord of al þat cuntꝛ be þe ȝift of gayus whech was þan emp*er*ouꝛ of rome. This heraūd killid first seynt iame hroþ*ir* on to jon þe eua*n*gelist and whan he had aspied þat he plesed þe iewis with þis dede he leyd wecch for to take petir took him and hond him in p*ri*son with chenes, assigned many me*n* to wecch him but ȝet was he delyu*er*ed me*r*uelously be an au*n*gell as it is wrytyn in actib*us* apo*sto*lor*um*. And yis same cheyne whech þe au*n*gell losid is þat same whech is in so mech reue*r*ens at rome. But he cause þat þ*er*e is grete errouꝛ whech heraude ded þis dede for þ*er*e wer iii þ*er*ſor wil I here schortly write a reule whech I fynde in uers þat me*n* may know whan þei regned and what þei dede in heꝛ tyme. The uers

solt gehen hin für den keiserliche*n* pfennig von de*m* leyh un*d* schûff di zehenden der kirchen. Am .viii. tag da gieng er selhs zů sant peters kirchen die was cleyn un*d* hûb do an dz müster zů hawen und halff selbs arheiten un*d* trůg selbes .xii. korhe myt erden usz' (*Ein Büchlin*, &c., Strasshurg, 1500, pp. B ii and B iii). Chapter xii of the *Legenda aurea* of G. da Voragine also refers to this suhject. Graf mentions this and says: 'Allora per sette giorni consecutivi pronulga ogni giorno una legge in favor della chiesa e della fede; e la prima è che nella città di Roma Cristo sia adorato qual vero Dio; la seconda, che chiunque hestemnia Cristo sia punito; la terza, che chiunque fa ingiuria a un cristiano perda la metà del suo avere; la quarta, che il Pontefice Romano sia da tutti i vescovi riconosciuto per capo; la quinta, che chiunque ripara in una chiesa sia tenuto immune; la sesta, che nessuno possa costruir chiese dentro le mura di una città senza averne ottenuta licenza dal vescovo; la settima che alla edificazione delle chiese si consacri il decimo dei possedimenti imperiali. L'ottavo giorno l'imperatore va alla chiesa di S. Pietro, accusa le sue colpe, e dovendosi porre le fondamenta della nuova hasilica prende a cavare con le proprie mani la terra, e ne leva sulle proprie sue spalle dodici sporte' (*Roma nella memoria*, &c., vol. ii, p. 82).

[1] The church of S. Peter *ad vincula* was huilt hy Eudoxia, wife of Valentiniau III, to preserve the chain with which Peter was hound at Jerusalem. Leo the Great added another chain with which the Apostle was bound at Rome during the persecution of Nero. The date of the church was about 442; it was called the *Basilica Eudoxiana*, from its founder, and dedicated to the SS. Apostles. Subsequently it was restored in the eighth century by Hadrian I, and entirely reconstructed hy Sixtus IV and Julius II in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Adinolfi, vol. ii, p. 108; Armellini, p. 553; Marucchi, p. 311; Nihhy, p. 663). Muffel says of the church (p. 42): 'do ligt gar ein grosser gegosner steiner trog und ein abtgot dapey.'

ar þese. Ascalonita necat pueros antipa iohannem Agrippa iaeobum claudens in carcere petrum. The sentens of þese uers is þis. Ther wer iii heraūdes regnyng by and by / on of hem hith heraude ascalonite ye oþir heraude f. 388 v
antipas þe þirde heraude agrippa. This ascalonite was he þat regned in ierlm at cristis birth whech comaunded all þoo innocentis to be slayn þat crist schuld be ded a mongis hem. Antipas was he þat killid seynt jon þe baptiste. And agrippa was he þat killid seynt iame and prisoned seint petir of whos cheynes in þat same place we haue now take on hande to speke. Who þan þat þese cheynes cam to rome it is told iu eld bokys. The doutyr to theodosius þe emperour called Eudosia[1] aftir tyme þat sche was delyuered of a wikkid spirit be presens of seynt steuene whan he cam first to rome as we told be for in þe chapeter of seynt laurens þis same woman þus delyuered went on pylgrimage on to ierlm to worchip þere þe holy steppes of crist. And be cause sche was grete of birth and held þere grete houshold sche drow mech folk to hir aqweyntaunce but in special o iew was þere whech sche had take to grete familiarite. He told hir of þe cheynes whech seynt petyr was bound with, and whan he say þat sche desired hem he brout hem on to hir and ȝaue hem as for a grete ȝift. Than cam sche to rome with þis relik and had a grete counceil with þe pope* pelagius what schuld be do with þese cheynes for þei both desired þat þere schuld be a special place and special solempnite consecrate on to hem. Than was þere in rome be fore þat tyme a grete haliday þe first day of august in worchip of octauiane whech solempnite myth not esily be distroyed. Tho mad þis woman þis cherch and þe pope* ordeyned þat al þat solempnite whech was doo in worchip of octauiane schuld be turned to worchip of seynt petir. The cheyne þat cam fro ierlm fro heraudis prison was brout be þis woman and offered þere. The pope* broute þe same cheyne whech petir was bounde with at comaundment of nero and whann þei were both broute

[1] Eudosia was the wife of Theodosius II. Her name was Athenais, and she was the daughter of Leontius (or Heraclius), an Athenian philosopher. In the year A.D. 424 she went to Constantinople, was instructed in the tenets of Christianity hy Atticus the Patriarch, and was baptized, taking the name of Eudosia. She married the emperor and bore him one daughter, Lucinia Eudosia, who married the Emperor Maximus. Eudosia undertook her pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 438; on her return she hrought back the relics of S. Stephen with her. But, in the year 449, the emperor accused her of infidelity; this suspicion led to the execution of the patrician Paulinus. She afterwards obtained leave to retire to Palestine, where she spent the rest of her life in piety and works of charity. She was a distinguished poetess; wrote a commentary on the first eight books of the Bihle in verse, a paraphrase of the books of Daniel and Zechariah, and three works in praise of the martyr S. Cyprian. None of her works have, however, come down to us. She is often called Eudoxia; she should not he confused with the Empress Eudoxia, who persecuted S. John Chrysostom, and died in the year A.D. 408 (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, August, vol. iii, p. 4).

to gidir sodeynly be myracle þe o cheyne was fast on to þe oþir as þou þei had be wrouth so and þus þei perseuer in to þis same day.[1] A noþir cause of þis fest is told þat pope* alisaundre whech was þe sext pope* fro seint petir was in prison for cristis cause and on qwyrine was his keper. So þis couenaunt was be twix hem both þat qwyrine schuld dobil his cheynes þat he was bounde with and schet al þe dores of þe prison and if he myth that nyth come to his hous he schuld be leue in crist. Thus was he alisaundre be an aungell meruelously delyueryd fro prison and appered on to hem and þei mad ful promisse to be baptized. Tho þei prayed him for helth of her doutyr whech was meruelously seek. And he comaunded hem þat sche schuld go to his prison in whech he was and kisse his cheynes and soo schuld sche be hool. Quyryne seid on to him a geyn. Schal sche go þidir & not fynde þe þer and he answerd. He þat brout me þens be myracle
f. 389 r schal lede me a geyn be þat same mene. The mayde cam and fond / pope* in prison and whan sche wold a kissid his cheynes he comaunded hir to seke þe cheynes of seynt petir and kisse hem so did sche and was hol. For þis special myracle þis same pope* ordeyned þis fest to be solempnyzed in þe cherch.[2] Many myracles haue be doo with þese same cheynis as is openly declared in many bokes of whech we haue no leiser to speke now.

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Of þe staciouⁿ at seynt anastase. Caplm̃ xiiii.

The tewisday aftir þe first sunday is þe stacion at seynt anastase a fayr cherch fast be seynt georges but it is but seldom used as I suppose.[3] This

[1] An account of this event is given in the *Descriptio plenaria*, which our author has made use of. It runs: 'Hic ritus pervenit usque . . . apostolorum Petri et Pauli.' The second chain, however, according to the *Mirabilia*, was the one with which S. Paul was bound by order of Nero (Urlichs, *Cod. Topog.*, p. 104).

[2] Alexander I was elected Pope in the year 109. His feast-day is on May 3; there is no account in Stadler's *Heiligenlexikon* of the miracle of the chains here related by our chronicler. He was imprisoned, together with two priests, Eventius and Theodulus, under the Emperor Hadrian (according to some Trajan); the name of his jailer was Quirinus, and he, with many others, was converted and baptized by the pope. They were all martyred under circumstances of great cruelty, and buried on the Via Nomentana. This Pope is remarkable for having introduced some customs into the Church which have lasted until the present day. For example, he was the first to mix water with the wine of the Sacrament, in memory of the blood and water which flowed from our Saviour's side; also the custom of mixing salt with holy water, the salt being previously blessed, is due to him (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. i, p. 367; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. i, p. 127).

[3] The church of S. Anastasia gave a title to a cardinal in the fifth century. It was rebuilt in 759, again by Innocent III in 1210, and restored by Sixtus IV in 1475. Urban VIII rebuilt the façade in 1636, and Cardinal da Cunha altered the interior to its

anastase was a woman of grete possessioun and leuyd in grete perfeccion as hir lif telleth. Pretaxatus a worthi man of rome he was hir fader and fausta hir modir. This same fausta was conuerted to crist be mediacion of a holy bischop þei cleped crisogonus. Eke þis same anastasia fro þe tyme þat sche coude speke was induced on to þe feith hir fadeꝛ dwellyng stille in his paganite. So whan sche cam to womannes age sche was constreyned be hiꝛ frendis to be weddid to on publius a rich mannes child but of ful euel condiciones. Sche þus weddid a cristen woman on to a hethen man wold not comoun with him in fleschly comunicacioun but feyned hir selue seek þat schuld undir þat colouꝛ abstine fro his bed. And whan he had aspied þat sche was a cristen woman aꝑ who sche wold in ful febil aray only with o mayde uisite þe prisones in whech cristen men weꝛ putte and refrecch hem plenteuously with hir goodis a non þis wikkid husbond sperd hiꝛ in a prison and ordeyned þat sche schuld neithir haue mete ne drynk desiring þat sche schuld deye for hungir þat he myth aftir hir deth entir in to hir nobel possessioun & spend it in ryot and reuel as he had don his owne. Thus is þis woman in prison with oute consolacioun saue þat sche sent certeyn letteris on to seint grisogonus and he sent a geyn to hiꝛ episteles of ful holy counceill as men may rede in his lif and peraduentuꝛ whan we schul speke of him we wil reherse hem þere. Thus aftir grete tribulacioun þis woman had sum what of hiꝛ desiꝛ for hir husbond deyed & sche with swech godes as were left ful plenteuously ded elmesse for cristis sake. Than was sche aftir þis brout be for a iuge and accused þat sche was cristen. The iuge say þe beute of hiꝛ and undirstood weel þat sche was boꝛ to grete lyflode he led hir in to a priuy chambir in purpose for to defile hiꝛ þere. A non as þei were alone sodeynly he was blynd and eke þerto swech maner maledye felle up on him þat with inne a litil while he deyed in his seruauntis armes. Than was sche broute on to a noþir iuge and he seid on to hir in counceil. Anastase if þou wil be a cristen woman do as crist bad þe ȝyue a wey al þi good and folow him in pouerte. Sche answerd him on þis wise. Crist bad me gyue my good for his / sake not to rich men but to pore men. Therfor be cause þou art f. 389 v
rich I schuld gretly doo a geyn my lordis comaundment if I ȝoue my godes to þe. Than comaunded þe iuge þei schuld lede hiꝛ to prison and lete hir deye þere for hungir. In whech prison a uirgine whech was martir but fewe dayes be fore fed hir with heuenely mete ii monthis. Aftir þat tyme passed sche and ii hundred maydenis were exiled out of rome to certeyn yles whech be cleped insule palmarie be cause many palmes growe þere. And not long aftir þe same iuge went þidir and put hem alle to þe deth but

present form in 1722 (Armellini, p. 111; Marucchi, p. 246; De Rossi, *Bollettino d'Arch. Crist.*, 1867).

anastase he ded bynde to a tre þat sche schuld be brent whēr sche comendid hir soule to god and so deyid longe or þe fīr brent ony grete p*art* of hīr. A worthi man gat hir body and biried it a rome as many men suppose.[1]

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Of þe stacion at s̄c̄a maria maior. Cap̄ xu.

The wednisday aftir þe first sunday is þe stacion at a cherch þei clepe s̄c̄a maria maior of whech we spoke of be fore and told alł þe writyng*is* whech we fou*n*de þere. But neu*er*þelasse for p*er*feccion of þe book we wil plant i*n* sum notable p*ro*cesse whech fel in þis place. The holi doctor seynt gregory in his book of omelies telleth a notable p*ro*cesse of a woma*n* whech hau*n*ted mech þis cherch and þis tale is in þe xł omelie of his book þat is to sey þe last. There was an elde woma*n* in rome swech tyme as he leued in monast*er*ie be foī he was pope.* This woma*n* hith as he seith rede*m*pta. Sche had ioyned on to hir i*n* felauchip too ȝong women of gode condiciones whech weī on to hīr disciples. On of hem hith romula of þe oþir he seith he knew þe fas but not þe name. Alł iii leued þus in good lif in a hous fast be þis cherch of seynt mary and eu*er*y day were þei in þat place with deuoute conte*m*placiou*n* and in ful despect habite. So aftir many ȝeres þus spent in holy lyf þis romula fel in to greuous siknesse swech as þei clepe þe p*er*alise whech encresed up on hīr þat sche lost alł þe use of hir me*m*bris. Thus lay sche many ȝeris wel blessed of god for þe moī seknesse sche had þe moī paci*en*s had sche. On a day sche cleped hir maystresse on to hir and eke hir felaw and prayed hem to sitte by hīr in felauchip to hir cou*m*fort. Euene as þe sitte by hīr þei herd grete melodye in þe hous and felt sote sauouī of whech þei felt neu*er* ere and bisily þei gu*n*ne loke on þis woma*n* whech lay þus long sek for þei supposed uerily þat sche knew more of swech þingis þan þei. Tho þe seek woma*n* seid on to hem þese wordes. Beth not a ferd for I schal not deye þese iiii dayes. The iiii day sche cleped hem a geyn and prayed hem þat þe prest myth come and ministir on to hīr þe holy sacrament.

[1] The accepted story of S. Anastasia, widow and martyr, differs somewhat from that of our chronicler, although he is in the main correct. She appears to have lived in the time of Diocletian, and to have heen baptized as a child, a rare occurrence in those days. She refused to live as a wife with her pagan hushand, Puhlius, and he imprisoned her in her own house. When, however, she was like to perish from hunger, her hushand himself died, while on a journey to Persia, and she was free. Her works of Christian charity hrought her into contact with S. Crisogonus; she accompanied him to Aquileia, where he was martyred. Here she was imprisoned, and left for thirty days without food or drink. She was then put into a boat, through the bottom of which many holes had heen hored, and sent to sea in it. But the hoat did not sink; and finally she was hurnt at the stake, in the year 304. Her remains, according to some accounts, were hrought to Rome; according to others, to Constantinople (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*).

So was it do in dede and aftir þat mi*n*istery fulfillid þei herd þe same noyse agayn and felt þe same sauouꝛ more ouyr / þei herd in þe strete as it had be f. 390 r too sundry qweres on of men an othir of women singing ful swetly and in al þis swete melodye þei loked at romula and hir soule was passed and goo. This tellith sei*n*t gregorie to þis conclusiou*n* þat þei þat seme wrecchid are su*m*tyme fulder worthi with god and we rehersid þis to þis ende to magnifyi*n*g of þis cherch whech þese women most used.[1]

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Of þe stacio*n* at sei*n*t laure*n*s panispe*r*ne. Cm̃ xui

Anothir staciou*n* is þe*re* on þe þursday aftir þe first sunday of lenton at a cherch þei clepe sei*n*t laurens panispe*r*ne. This place as I suppose was cleped so for gret plente of bred mad þe*re*. For panis in her tonge is breed and pe*r*na or pe*r*ne sou*n*dith as fatnesse whech fatnesse with a maneꝛ of a transu*m*pcion is used in ouꝛ langage for ple*n*te as we say a fat lond whech is plenteuo*us* of birde*n*. This place clepid þus panispe*r*ne was a place in whech mech bred was mad & many ouenes used for in on of þoo ouenes as þei sey þe*re* whech oũene lesteth þe*re* at þis tyme was seynt laurens rostid.[2] A gret me*r*ueyle to me growith in þis mateꝛ. Su*m*me sey he was rosted on þe white ston þat stant at seynt laure*n*s and þat suppose I best for a ma*n* may ȝet se þe places wheꝛ þe grees and þe flesch of him fried and þis ston is not smal to put esily in a ouene for it is as mech as a comou*n* graueston. Su*m*me sey þat he was rosted on a gridel of yrun of whech many parties

[1] The account of the lives of S. Redempta and Romula will be found in St. Gregory's *Dial.* iv. 15 (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, July, vol. v, p. 482).

[2] The church of S. Lorenzo *in Panisperna* was formerly known as S. Lorenzo *in Formoso* or *Formonso*, the meaning of which is obscure. It might refer to alterations carried out by Pope Formosus; but *in Formonso*, which is mentioned in the ninth century, would appear to refer to a locality. The church was rebuilt and consecrated by Boniface VIII in the year 1300, again under Gregory XIII in 1575, and lastly by Leo XIII in 1893 (Armellini, p. 306; Marucchi, p. 374; Adinolfi, ii, p. 250; Nibby, p. 305). See also Hülsen's *Pianta di Roma dell' Anonimo Einsiedlense*, where it is mentioned three times, on pp. 17, 25, and 28, always as 'S. Laurentius in Formonso, ubi ille assatus est'. 'Ancho el palazo de holimpiade dove fo arostito sancto lorenzo benche deto dove mo e la ecclexia cioe monastiero de done io o vedutto la fornazeta & baxatolla dove quello sancto fo arostito' (*Edifichazion di molti palazzi*, Venice, 1480, p. B iv). The name Panisperna is difficult to explain; it may refer to an old pagan Latin inscription in the church, in which the name Perpennia occurs. In the *Mirabilia, Codex Marcianus*, the following passage is met with: 'In thermis Olympiadis, ubi assatus fuit sanctus Laurentius, et vocatur ibi Panisperna; ideo dicitur Panisperna quia Olympias, uxor Philippi regis Macedonii ibi colebatur pro dea, et offerebatur ei panis, pola et perna, vel caro porcina' (cf. Graf, vol. i, p. 217). But the writer has, of course, confused the baths of Alexander Severus with a supposed palace of Alexander the Great; the latter was at this period popularly believed to have been offered and to have accepted the crown of the empire by the Romans.

lesten ȝet iu rome and are kissid with ful grete reuerens for touching of holy body. Summe sey þat he was leyd in a ouene. I may weel be leue þat his tormentis weꝛ chaunged now to o peyne now to a noþir and þus at dyuers chaunges had he dyuers tormentis and all in fyꝛ. In confirmacioun of myn opynion is þat first I rede in his lyf þat þei took grete brennyng plates of yruu and leyd hem to his sides. I rede also þat decius seid on to him þat al þat nyth schuld be spent in tormetrie of his body whech soundith on to my eres þat þere was chaunge of tormentrye. In his lif eke is red who deciꝰ comaunded a bed of yrun to be brout forth in whech laurens schuld rest. This bed of yrun is clepid þe gridil. And I suppose ueryly þat if I had now at hand þe grete book of martires whech is cleped passionarium I schuld fynde mo testimonies for myn oppinioun.[1] Suffiseth as now þat oure deuocioun be enclined on to þe treuthis whech þe cherch of rome prechid both of þe ston whech is hald in grete reuerens and stant in þe principal part of þe hed cherch of him euene on þe rith hand of þe popes sete. And eke of þe ouene whech is anexid to a cherch of his name and ful wel hillid a boue in whech cherch eke aꝛ ful good women lyuyng solitarie lif in heꝛ contemplacioun. Many oþir relikes ar schewid in þis cherch of whech I haue now no fresch rememberauns for I wrote hem nowt for þe prees þat was þere.[2]

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f. 390 v / Of þe stacion at þe xii aposteles. capᵐ. xuii

The friday in þe first weke of lenton is þe stacion at a cherch dedicat to þe xii aposteles.[3] Theꝛ is part of þe bodies of philippe and iacob but in special þere is schewid þe arme of seint philippe al hool.[4] Theꝛ ly þe bodies eke of þese martires basilidis cirini naboris nazarii & celsi uictoris

[1] By *passionarium* is no doubt meant one of the martyrologies which were in use in early times.

[2] For a full account of the life and martyrdom of S. Laurence, see Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, August, vol. ii, p. 485.

[3] It is believed that the church of the SS. Apostoli dates from the Constantinian period, with which opinion, however, Armellini does not agree; nor is the passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*, which would attribute it to Julius I (337–40), quite convincing; but the church was certainly restored by Pelagius I and John III about the middle of the sixth century. It was rebuilt in 1420, and again in 1702. Stephen V and Martin II restored the church, and a portico was added to it by Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, afterwards Julius II (Armellini, p. 139; Marucchi, p. 390; Nibby, p. 108; Adinolfi, ii, p. 16).

[4] The date of S. Philip's death is variously given between the years 54 and 90. The relics of his body were formerly for many years venerated at Hierapolis; they were brought later to Constantinople, and thence to Rome. At the latter place they were placed in the church dedicated to the SS. Apostles. The *Heiligenlexikon* says, 'Wahrscheinlich wegen der oben genannten Widmung dieser Basilica an alle Apostel wurde ehedem am 1. Mai zugleich das Fest aller Apostel begangen.'

& innocencii.[1] This philippe was martired in snrry and aftir translate to rome and þis iames martired at ierlm̄ and eke bront to rome. Of þese seyntis basilidis cirini & naboris fynde we bnt litil writyng but þat þei were ded for cristis sake in a cyte þei clepe ebrednnensis[2] and aftirward in tyme of pees translate to rome. Of þis nazarius and eke of celsns fynde we þus wrytyn. That þis nazarius was bore in romc his fadir hith affricanus his modir perpetua both weꝛ þei baptized be þe handis of seynt petir. He him selne was baptized and lerned in þe feith be þe labonꝛ of seynt clement. Aftir good instruccioun of seynt clement he went þrow all ytaile be placens and melane and so onyr þe monntis til he cam in fraunꝭ enyr preching þe feith of ouꝛ lord ihū. And in frannce in a cyte þei clepe cunelle a worþi woman of þe town toke hir child on to his lernyng whech þei clepe celsus. Whom he baptized and tante him þe feith & so forth both þei went np in to itaile wheꝛ he prechid þe name of crist for whech preching nero comannded þat he schuld be led in a schip in to þe myddis of þe see and þere þrowe in. So was he seruyd and celsus eke. The tempest roos aftirward whech was likly to onyr tnrne þe schip and þei whech weꝛ in þe schip sey þese seyntis walkyng on þe see and cryed ful soꝛ on þis wise. We haue synned a geyn þe god of nazarius wherfor we schul dey. And to þe seynt þe cried þus. Thon holy man nazarius help ns in onꝛ nede and we schal lede þe to what hanene þon wilt. He answerd a geyn. Belene ȝe þat my god may sane ȝon. They seide þei belened. Tho entred he þe schip and blessed hem in cristis name and charged hem to kepe hem fro þe doctrine of nero deneles. Sone aftir sesed þe tempest and þei sette him up on þe lond wheꝛ he went and prechid as he ded be fore. Thns cam he to melan wheꝛ he fond in prison gernase and prothase whose confort he was enery day. This aspied of on anolinus whech had banched hem þe cite a non at þe precept of nero he comannded hem to be heded.[3]

[1] SS. Basilides, Cyrinus, Nabor, and Nazarius were Roman soldiers; they were imprisoned in the time of Diocletian on account of their belonging to the Christian faith. Their jailer Marcellus was, with many others, converted hy them. Theý were martyred hy order of the Emperor Maximian, and their hodies thrown to wild heasts, which refused to touch them. They were then honourahly huried hy their fellow Christians (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, June, vol. ii, p. 511).

[2] Embrun.

[3] The S. Nazarius usually coupled with S. Celsus, whose story is related by our chronicler, is not the S. Nazarius mentioned in the last note. The confusion arises from the two saints having a common festival day, June 12. The accepted history regarding him differs slightly from that of our author, who is however generally correct. His father Africanus, for instance, is said to have been a heathen. Noticing the difference in the religion of his parents, S. Nazarius was divided in his opinions; until at last he was inclined to the Christian faith, and was baptized by S. Linus. His father endeavoured to bring him back to the pagan religion, hut in vain; finally, under threats of persecution, and at both his parents' wish, he left Rome, proceeded to Piacenza and thence to Milan

Of þe stacion at seynt petir cherch. cap̄ xuiii.

The satirday in þe first weke is þe staciou*n* at seynt petir cherch of whech we spoke mech before but su*m* pety þingis left we for to plant in whanne þe staciou*n*es come for *con*ueni*en*s of þe book. Ther̄ is a place ioyned to þat
f. 391 r cherch whech þei clepe uaticanus. / Uaticanus was a hous in þe hethen lawe in whech hous þe prestes of þat lawe had answere of certeyn materes of whech þei made inquisicion. For uates in latyn tunge is as mech to sey as a p*ro*phete and cauus is eld so it sou*n*dith an elde p*ro*phete. Per*a*uentur̄ þe deueles wold not ȝeue answere but to her̄ elde ser*u*au*n*tes to cause þe oþir ȝunger men to dwelle þe more stabily in her̄ errouris with gret desire to come sumtyme to knowlech of swech p*ri*uy þingis. This place is sumtyme in many legendes cleped in mo*n*te uaticano in þe mou*n*t uaticane and þe cause is for it stant hangi*n*g on a hiłł. It is also cleped in templo apollinis for appollo is þe sunne and þis temple was in spe*c*ial consec*ra*te to þe su*n*ne. In þis same place whech is cleped uaticanus was seynt petir byried and many oþir popes as her̄ legendis ber̄ witnesse for linus þat was pope next seynt petir he was byried þ*er*e first & aftir translate be on called gregory bischop of hostie on to þat same place. Cletus his successou*r̄* was byried þ*er*e alsoo, and so was anacletus euaristus sixtus thellophorus igini*us* and pius and many oþir mo whech made þe place of ful grete fame.[1]

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Of þe stacio*n* at s̄c̄a m*aria* i*n* dom*n*ica. cap̄ xix.

The secu*n*de sunday of lenton is þe staciou*n* at a cherch of ou*r̄* lady þei clepe it s̄c̄a maria in dom*p*nica[2] ye place is cleped so as I suppose in þese

where he met SS. Gervasius and Protasius. The rest of the account given of him in this MS. is correct. SS. Nazarius and Celsus were martyred in the year 68, and buried by the Christian community at Milan. Their resting-place was revealed to S. Ambrose, who found the body of S. Nazarius quite incorrupt and emitting a pleasant odour. S. Ambrose buried the bodies in the church of the SS. Apostoli. Parts of the relics of the two saints were distributed to various towns; one was given to the church of S. Giovanni in Fonte in Rome (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, July, vol. vi, p. 503).

[1] Regarding the crypt, Muffel says that there was great pardon at the altar under which half the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul lay, but that: 'man sperret die gruft selten auf von sünd wegen, die do geschehen möchten, dan es ist daselbst finster' (p. 23).

[2] The church of S. Maria in Dominica is the only one which still retains the old title *dominicum*. It is thought by some to occupy the site of the house of S. Ciriaca, which stood in the *Castra Peregrinorum*. The name *in navicellis* is considered both by Armellini and Marucchi to be modern, and not to be found before the sixteenth century, when Leo X substituted the present boat, now in the Piazza, for the ancient one; but from our MS. we see that the name was in general use in Rome at the time of Nicholas V, and possibly for some time before that. The church was restored by Pascal I in 817. Leo X, when he was still a cardinal, reconstructed it from designs furnished by Raphael or

eld bokes bc cause þe staciou*n* falleth on þe sunday. For at þis day þe romanes clepe it a noþir name sca maria in nauicellis. And þis is þe cause whi þei clepe it soo as þei sei *þere*. Be foꝛ þe dore of þis cherch stant a boot al of marbil as weel mad as þou3 it were tymbir with ribbis and rou*n*d holis where þe ores schuld goo and nauis in heꝛ langage is a schip and nauicella a litil schip whech we clepe a boot and of þis same nauicelle berith þat cherch his name at þis day. Dyuers opiniones herd I þere of þis schip su*mm*e seid þat a certeyn seynt cam be myracle rowyng to rome in þat same but þe seyntes name þei told not ne mech othir þing whech I inqwyryd. Othir men seid þat þe uernicle cam *in* þe same schip ouyr þe se fro ierlm̃ *pro*baciou*n* ne writyng alegged þei non and *þer*for 3e schul haue þese opiniones rith as I haue. I may wel be leue þat be þe grete powere of god a ston myth flete on þe watir but wheithir þis ston ded so or nowt I put it in dout. We rede weel þat at þe comau*n*dme*n*t of þe pr*o*phete helyse a grete exes hed fleted in þe watir whech was not a gayn kyndc as seith sei*n*t austin in þe secu*n*d book de mirabilib*us* sacꝛ scꝛiptuꝛ for þe watir as he seith þere is more myty for to bere an heuy þing þan is þe eyir. For grete trees þat þe eyir wil not bere þe watir wil bere hem. So þat þe watir aftir his *in*uestigaciou*n* hath natuꝛ of þe eyir in p*ar*tie and in p*ar*tie natuꝛ of þe erde. For he himselue asayed þis þing whech I schal telle 3ou. A grete ston þrowyn in þe watir / teyid with a rop whech to men myth not meue ne f. 391 v draw scarsely whan it lay on þe erde o ma*n* schal meue it esely whan it is in þe watir. Wherfor þis doctouꝛ *con*cludith þat a ston or yru*n* to flete is not ageyn kynde but p*ar*tie it is born be kynde and party born be myracle.

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## Of þe stacion at seynt clem*en*t cherch. caꝑ xx.

The mu*n*day in þe secu*n*de weke is þe stacion at a cherch of seynt clem*en*t[1] in whech cherch restith his body and þese bodies, of sei*n*t ignace þe

perhaps Bramante. The portico is said to have been designed by Michelangelo. It was finally restored by Cardinal Riario Sforza in the pontificate of Pius VII (Armellini, p. 398; Marucchi, p. 217; Nibby, p. 371; Adinolfi, i, p. 350).

[1] It is believed that S. Clement constructed an oratory in his own house, remains of which have been discovered in the third or lowest level (near the Mithraeum) under the present church dedicated to the saint. This oratory was replaced by a basilica, in which the Council of 417 was held, and in which S. Gregory read two of his homilies in 590. That the church was very ancient is proved by the existence of the slave's collar, mentioned by De Rossi in *Boll. d'Arch. Crist.*, 1863, p. 26 sq. This basilica, as is well known, was entirely destroyed by Robert Guiscard in 1084, and the present church was erected over the ruins. For the history of the discovery of the earlier basilica in 1857 and its excavation, see *S. Clement, Pope and Martyr, and his Basilica in Rome*, by J. Mullooly, O.P., Rome, 1873; Adinolfi, vol. i, p. 305; Armellini, p. 191; Marucchi, p. 287; Nibby, p. 170. Muffel says (p. 42): 'und vor der thur ligen zwen sten, darauf man vil heiligen hat gemartert.'

martir,[1] sei*n*t lazar seynt ciriak and o*þ*ir moo. The*r* is schewid eke þe stole of sei*n*t clemen*t* his chales and mech o*þ*ir þing. Of þis same pope wil we telle 3ou sum þing*is* whech a*r* in doute a mong*is* many men. For su*m*me sey þat he was pope * next petir and su*m*me sey þat too were be fo*r* him. Also his legend seith þat he was hiried in þe se and lith þe*r* on to þis day and þis hook seith he lith at rome. Al þis þing wil ask declaracio*un*. As for þe first mate*r* 3e schal undirstand þat seynt petir whil he leued chase to prestes of his þe on hith lin*us* þe o*þ*ir hith cletus and mad hem his uikeris general grau*n*ting hem power on with iunne þe wallis of rome þe o*þ*ir with oute to gouerne þe cristen puple. And þis was þe cause whi he ded þus for he wold haue mo*r* leiser to *con*tem*pl*acio*un* and to *conuer*cio*un* of þe puple. But whan he schuld deye he took clement be þe hand and comitted on to him þe flok whech criste had comitted to him. Al þis is *con*teyned in a epistel whech þe same clemen*t* wrote on to seynt iame bischop of ierlm̄. But whan*n* petir was ded clemen*t* wold algate *pref*er*r* þese too men be fore him be cause þei had so grete powe*r* in his maistires time. And þis meknesse of clemen*t* was gretely alowid of hem þat we*r* þan postes of þe cherch. So lin*us* reyned xi 3ere and *cer*teyn dayes and cletus regned o*þ*ir xi 3ere. And clement aftir hem ix 3ere and *cer*teyn dayes. This is þe treuth of þis mate*r*.[2] As touchyng þe o*þ*ir poynt who þat he cam to rome 3e schul undirstand þat aftir tyme he had conuerted mech puple in rome he was exiled be comau*n*dmen*t* of traiane þe empero*ur* on to an yle whe*r* many cristen men we*r* exiled and aftir he had þe*re* do many myracles and bylid many cherches traiane sent þidir a duke whech comau*n*ded þat schipmen schuld take and lede him in to þe depe of þe see teye an ankyr a boute his nek and þrowe him in to þe see þat cristen men schuld not worchip his body as a god. Thus was it doo in dede but too of his disciples cornelius and phebus kneled on þe brynk and prayed ou*r* lord þat þei myth see þe body of þis martir.[3] And sodeynly þe se be thre myle with drow him and þei all went on þe bare sond tyl þei came þe*re* he was þrowe whe*r* þei fonde a hons al of marbill
f. 392 r arayed be þe handis of au*n*gelis and his body resti*n*g þer in. / Tho had þei

[1] S. Ignatius (Theophorus) was Bishop of Antioch. Stadler gives a long account of his interview with Trajan, who afterwards ordered him to be sent to Rome to suffer martyrdom in the amphitheatre. He arrived in Rome on the last day of the games, and was thrown to the wild beasts. His relics are preserved and revered in the church of S. Clement, to which they were translated (*Heiligenlexikon*).

[2] 'Et quant Pierres dut morir il ordena I de ses disciples qui ot' (avoit) 'a non Clemens à teuir la chaiere après lui; mais il ne la vost onques tenir, ainz constitui Linum son compaignon, qui la tint tant comme il vesqui, et puis constitui il Cletum, qui autressi la tint toute sa vie; et qnant il furent mort andui, Clemens meismes tint la chaiere et fu apostoiles de Rome' (Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Tresor*, pp. 80-1).

[3] There is no mention of Cornelius and Phebus in Stadler, but Surius speaks of them in the Life of S. Clement (*Vitae Sanctorum*, vol. xi, p. 657).

a reuelacioun þat þei schuld not bere him a wey. And þus euery 3ere uii dayes at his feest was þe se þus bare on to þat day þat þis legend was wrytin and sum what aftir. In iustinianes tyme þe emperour and in pope nicholas tyme þe first an holy man cleped seint cyrille brout þis body oute of þe se be reuelacion & leyd it at þe cherch of his name.[1] Eke þe same cyrille with in fewe dayed dyed and is biried in þe same cherch doying many miracles.[2]

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## Off þe stacion at seynt balbine. cap̄ xxi.

Anothir station is þere on þe tewsday folowyng at a cherch þei clepe seint balbine [3] it stant on a hill in þe south side of rome munkis þei be as I suppose þat dwell þere and it is now þe title on to þat worþi man of þis lond cardinal & arschbiscop of 3ork.[4] This same balbine was doutir to

[1] SS. Cyrillus and Methodius are known as the *Slavorum Apostoli* for their labours in converting the Slavonian race to Christianity. S. Cyrillus's first name was Constantine; he came of a good family of Thessalonica. His travels took him as far as the Crimea, whence he brought the relics of S. Clement to Rome. He died about 878 or 879 in a cloister in Rome, and was buried with his companion at S. Clement's, where their tomb is still shown in the lower church (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*).

[2] The various accounts of the life of S. Clement are most conflicting. The date of his tenure of the papacy, and the order in which he came after S. Peter, are even disputed. The generally accepted version is that he was the son of Faustinus (Faustus), a Roman citizen of the Caelian Hill region. Some say that he was a Jew by birth, for the reason that in his first Epistle to the Corinthians he says he is of the race of Jacob, which statement, however, may easily have a spiritual meaning. Others think that he came from Philippi, and that he was originally a pagan, from a passage in S. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, ch. iv, ver. 3, &c. The account here given of his martyrdom is the generally accepted version (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*).

[3] The church of S. Balbina was founded in the time of Gregory I on the Aventine; it is mentioned in the synod held in 594 in the time of the Emperor Maurice. That part of the Aventine on which it stands is called *Albeston* or *Asbeston*, and is supposed to be the site of the *mutatorium Caesaris*. The church was restored by Leo III, and again in 1489 by Cardinal Marco Barbo (nephew of Paul II), who altered its character entirely (Armellini, p. 146; Marucchi, p. 173).

[4] The following is a list of English cardinals during the reign of Henry VI (*Notes and Queries*, Series 3, vol. xii, pp. 2 and 71):—

| Name. | See. | Created by. | Died. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Henry Beaufort. | Bishop of Winchester. | Martin V, 1426. | April 11, 1447. |
| John Kempe.* | Archbishop of Canterbury. | Nicholas V, 1452. | March 22, 1454. |
| Henry Bowet. | Archbishop of York. | During Henry VI's reign. | October 20, 1423. |
| Henry Chicheley. | Archbishop of Canterbury. | 1428 (?). | 1443. |
| John Stafford. | Archbishop of Canterbury. | Eugenius IV, 1434. | 1452. |

* For John Kempe, above referred to, see Isaacson, *Story of the English Cardinals*, p. 110 sq., London, 1907, from which it appears that he was appointed Archbishop of York in 1426, Cardinal Priest by Eugenius IV in December, 1439 (while Archbishop of York), thus taking precedence of Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury. On the death

a worþi man of rome whom þei clepid qwyrinus. This same qwirinus had in prison at comanndment of þe emperonr a man of rome whech had be meyr of þe cite þei cleped him hermes. This qwyryn sey þis worthi man suffir prison and cheynes þus paciently for cristis cause he seid on to him. I hane grete wondir of þe þat hast bor swech office in þe cite and were a man endewid with grete good þat þou hast forsake þe holy religioun of our goddis and newly take a secte whech ledith all his loueres to losse of her good slanndr of her name and orible deth. This hermes answerd þus ageyn. With inne fewe 3eres I had þe same oppinion and I scorned hem þat þus reklesly lost her good as me þout and wilfully runne on to her deth. For I supposed be fore þat þere was no lyf aftir þis lif and men whan þei deyed went neythir to peyne ne to ioye. Tho þis qwyrinus seid on to hermes. If þou can schewe me be ony euydens þat þere is a lif aftir þis lif is spent þan wold I encline myn eres to þi doctrine. Hermes seid. If þon wilt goo to alisanndre pope * of the cristen men he schal lerne þe þis skole bettyr þan I can. Whan qwyryne herd þe name of alisaundr he cried with a loude voys and seide. Now cursed be þat prest whech hath deceyued þus many men. I seide to þe þat þou schuld be snm opin euydens or be snm trewe witnesse prone me þere is a lif after þis is do and þou namest to me a cursed man a renegat a man gretely noised with wischcraft and swech oþir wrccchidnesse for whech noyse he lith bounde in my prison. But þis schal I do for þi wordis. The wil I schette sewirly in prison & him schal I bynde with dobil cheynes and hardyly þe doris schul be schet wel I now. If he come to þe þis nyth or þou to him þan wil I be leue þat crist is a nery god and eke þat þere is a noþir lif aftir þis swete on to his loneres and bittir on to his enmyes. This þing whech he supposid impossible was do in dede for at
f. 392 v mydnyth / met þei both in fere and þan was þis qwyryne baptized and his doutir both cleped balbina whom þis same alisaundr had cured fro grenous siknesse. Qwyryne is biried in þis same cherch and balbine eke bnt sche berith þe special name for aftir deth of hir fader as it is seid sche spent al hir patrimonie in bigging of holy places and sustenauns of por men.[1]

of Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, he was translated to that see in 1452, and promoted in the College by being raised to the rank of Cardinal Bishop of S. Rufina, and constituted legate *a latere*. He was twice Lord Chancellor, held three bishoprics, both archbishoprics, and is buried in Canterbury Cathedral, where his tomb still exists. He was therefore Cardinal of S. Balbina from December, 1439, to July, 1452.

[1] S. Balbina was born during the reign of Hadrian; she was the daughter of Quirinus, the custodian of Pope Alexander I. Quirinus informed his prisoner that he had a grown-up daughter, beautiful, but disfigured by a hideous sore (*struma*) on her neck. Having heard of the miracles of the Pope, Quirinus promised that he would become a Christian if Alexander would help his daughter. The Pope ordered him to bring her to his presence, and laid the chains (*bojas*) with which he was bound about her neck. On this a youth

Of þe stacion at seint cecile. cap̄ xxii.

Wednysday in þe same weke is þe stacioun at seint cecile in transtibir.[1] It is clepid traustibir for tibir goth be twix rome and þat. For þis transtibir is a cite wallid be þe selue on þe west side of tibir and so is civitas leonina of whech we spoke be fore in þe first capitule of þis secund part. This transtibir hath a cherch of our lady ful famous and a cherch of seynt crisogon a couent of þe menouris & a hous of chanones and a hospital of seint edmund þe kyng.[2] Now in þis capitule wil we speke of seynt cecile place a fayre cherch it is and a fayr̄ place hanging þeron of chanones in whech place stant ȝet þe bath in whech sche dyed. In þis cherch lith sche and tiburcius her husbond ualerianus his broþir and urbane as manifest writyng is þere in

(an angel), with a burning torch in his hand, appeared; after ordering the damsel to remain a virgin throughout her life, he vanished again. From that hour she was healed, and father and daughter with all their household were baptized. Quirinus suffered martyrdom; Balbina is said to have lived a pious life and to have died in peace in the year A.D. 130. According to other accounts, she also suffered martyrdom (Stadler, *Heiligen-lexikon*).

[1] The church of S. Cecilia was founded on the site of her martyrdom. It is mentioned in the fifth century. The convent was founded by Pascal I, who also rebuilt the church and translated the remains of the saint from the Catacombs of S. Callixtus in 822. (In 1595 the sarcophagus of Pascal was opened; this event has been described by Baronius, *Ann. Eccl., ad ann. 821*, pp. 12–19; and by Bosio, *Hist. passionis S. Caeciliae*, p. 155.) After the first mention in the fifth century it is recorded, in the *Liber Pontificalis*, that on Nov. 22, 545, Pope Vigilius, while celebrating the feast-day of the saint, was surprised in this basilica by Anthemius Scribo, who had been sent from Constantinople by the Empress Theodora to capture him. The church was restored in 1283, and the altar and the confession are the work of Arnolfo, who also worked at S. Paul's outside the Walls (not to be confounded with Arnolfo di Cambio). The restorations of 1599 and 1823 did much to alter the character of the church, but the last restoration of Cardinal Rampolla in 1901 has, on the other hand, done much to restore its archaeological interest (Armellini, p. 179; Marucchi, p. 438; Nibby, p. 155).

[2] Armellini says that there was formerly a small oratorio in Trastevere dedicated to S. Edmund, near the church of S. Giovanni Battista dei Genovesi. Martinelli says it was built 'a quodam Anglo'. Piazza (*Ensevolagio Romano, ovvero delle Opere Pie di Roma*, 1699, p. 81) says: 'Oltre al sudetto Spedale (di S. Toma Cantuariense) ne fu istituito uno in Trastevere dietro la Chiesa di S. Grisogono da un Mercante Inglese, per i suoi Paesani, dedicandolo con una chiesa a S. Edmondo Re d'Inghilterra, ad uso e benefizio in particolare dei Mercanti Inglesi, e Marinari, che veniuano da si lungo viaggio a Roma. Lo Spedale, con le sue entrate, fù soppresso & unito al sudetto Maggiore di San Tommaso Cantuariense, e questo al nominato Collegio Inglese. La chiesa di S. Edmondo, che per l'antichità minacciaua rouina, fu ultimamente fatto demolire da Alessandro VII, e transferite le S. Reliquie, che vi erano, con la sacra supellettile, et obbligo di Messe, alla medesima chiesa di S. Tommaso; et acciò non si perdesse il culto e la memoria di quel S. Rè, si eresse ivi un altare al medesimo, ove vi si conserva e vi si espone nel dì della festa una sua reliquia.' See also the short note in Passeroli's *Tesori nascosti dell' Alma città di Roma*, 1625, p. 605, translated into German by Albert Resmarus, *Abgebildetes neues Rom*, Arnheim, 1661, p. 121). The text of the marble inscription relating to the suppression of the oratorio of S. Edmund, on May 29, 1664, will be found in Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese di Roma*, tom. vii, p. 182, No. 378.

tablettis. This sey I for summe men seid to me þat sche lith at seynt gregoryes but þe writing at seint ccciles is moꝛ elder þan is heꝛ writyug. Wel wote I þat sche was slayn in hir owne place and byried in cimiterio kalixti as writing berith witnesse in þe same cimiterie ȝet in þe hard marbil and as me þinkith it was ful conuenient to translate hir on to hir owne place namely whan seynt urbane a non aftir hir deth consecrat hiꝛ dwelling place on to a cherch. Of þis glorious martir cecile many notabil þingis fynde we wrytyn of whech summe wil we reherse schortly þat þe comendacionn of þe seynt schuld not slepe and þe labouꝛ of þe rederes schuld not be long. First rede we þat sche baꝛ þe gospel of ouꝛ lord euyr at hir breest whech wordes are dyuersly undirstand at dyuers clerkis. Summe sey þat sche baꝛ þe gospel materialy wrytyn in hir bosum þat sche myth rede it whan sche wold. Othir þere be whech sey þat þis þing is undirstand þus þat sche bare þe preceptis and þe counceles of ouꝛ lord whech ar writin in þe gospel freschly in hir mynde þat sche schuld not offende god for ignorauncе. Both þingis ded sche as I suppose þat is to sey sche þout on þe comanndmentis and councellis of crist whech is most nedful. For þouȝ a man write or beꝛ hem and do not þeraftir it is litil mede on to him. So þis is þe bettir part for to hane hem deuly in mynde. And þonȝ it be not þe betir part for to beꝛ hem up on him ȝet sey we þat it is a good part. For we rede þat þe holy faderes of þe cherch baꝛ þe material gospel a bonte with hem whеꝛ þei went. In speciale rede I of
f. 393 r seynt barnabe þat he baꝛ þe gospell / of mathew with him al his lyue and whann he was ded it was leyd with him in þe graue and foundyn hool many ȝeres aftir in tyme of zeno þe emperouꝛ. We rede also of an holy mnnk cleped serapion [1] þat he baꝛ þe gospel witȝ him whеꝛ he went. And be cause þat gospell comaundeth to hem þat wil be perfith þat þei schuld ȝene a wey al heꝛ good þis man keping þis councel on þe streitest maner mad him selue naked to cloth oþir men. Thei þat met him enqwired of him who had so spoiled him and he seid þe gospel. Al þis is seid to make prof þat it is ful likly þat þis holi martir and nirgine seint cecile bare a boute witȝ hir þe material gospel. This mayde was canse of conuercionn of þese too breþer tiburcius and ualerian and of many oþir. Sche was homely with aungelcs and hardy on to þe deth wherfoꝛ þe cherch hath hir in ful grete reuerens both at romc and heꝛ.[2]

[1] Possibly the S. Serapion who was afterwards Bishop of Thmuis in the Nile Delta, a friend of S. Athanasius and of S. Anthony. He was at the Council of Sardica in 348, and died in 358. There was another Serapion, an Englishman, who devoted his life to the ransoming of those Christians who had become prisoners of the Moors. Eventually he was crucified, and tortured to death in Algiers, in the year 1240. He was canonized by Benedict XIII in 1728 (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*).

[2] S. Cecilia is believed to have been contemporary with Urban I (223–30), and to have

Of þe stacion at s̄ca maria &c*era*. cap̄ xxiii.

On þe þursday in þat same weke is þe staciou*n* at a cherch of ou*r* lady whech þei clepe s̄ca maria transtib*er*im þat is to sey in englisch Seynt mari ouyr tibur for it sta*n*t ouir þe watir whe*r* sei*n*t cecile sta*n*t. This place in eld tyme was ordeyned to refresching of knytis aftir he*r* labo*ur* wha*n* þei were falle in age.[1] On þat same day þat crist was born þe*re* spro*n*g in þis same place too wellis of oyle whech ru*n* al̄ þat day plenteuously in to tibur. These too welles be ȝet þe*re* in ful grete reuerens. But whi þese wellis schuld re*n*ne mo*r* oile þan oþir lycou*r* is assigned þis cause a mong*is* clerkis for oyle þei sei signifieth m*er*cy and þat lord was come whech brout with him a lawe ful of m*er*cy. Of þis *con*ueni*en*s be twix oyle and m*er*cy speke clerkis in he*r* bokis and sey þat euene as oyle ou*er*spredith al̄ man*er* licoui*is* so þe m*er*cy of oure lord houyth a boue al̄ his werkis. Who may susteyne his real power or make resiste*n*s a geyn his ordinau*n*s. Who can sey þat he is onrithful in his iugeme*n*tis or ellis indiscrete in his gouernau*n*s. Alle þese blasphemes schul we ley a side and knele to ou*r* lord and þank him for he hath set þe oyle of mercy be fo*r* al his werkis. Wil ȝe se þe man*er* of makyng of oyle. Smale sedes smale frutes are pressed ful sore þat þis swete lycou*r* schuld be had. Crist was in þis world in reputacion of þe world but a smale frute but whan he was pressed on þe crosse grete plente of m*er*cy ran owt to ou*r* redempciou*n*. Wil ȝe se þe excesse of þe new lawe in m*er*cy. The p*er*sone iu moises lawe þat gadered drye stikkis on þe haly day was stoned to þe deth. The woma*n* in þe newe lawe taken openly in a uoutry was preserued and þat be þe iugeme*n*t of ou*r* lord ihū m*er*cyfully fro þe deth. The*r* was yȝe for yȝe and toth for toth and ioynt for ioynt he*r* is þe cou*n*cel of meknesse openly inioyned þ*t* / comau*n*dith in þis wise. If a ma*n* smyte þe on þe o cheke f. 393 v profir him. þi*n* oþir. Opynly crieth salamo*n* in his epithalami of þe mercy

been martyred about the year 230 in the reign of Alexander Severus (222–35). Some authorities hold that her death occurred during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161–80). She is believed to have been of noble birth and to have been a Christian from her childhood. The beautiful story of her conversion of her husband Valerian and his brother Tiburtius will be found in Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; see also Surius, *Vitae Sanctorum*, vol. xi, p. 638, Turin, 1879.

[1] The church of S. Maria in Trastevere is the first *large* church in Rome dedicated to the Virgin, *Prima aedes Deiparae dicata*, the earliest being S. Maria Antiqua. It is said to have been founded by S. Callixtus, by permission of Alexander Severus, in 222, on the site of the *Taberna meritoria*, a hospital for old soldiers, and to have been abandoned during the persecutions. It was reconstructed by Julius I in 340, and took the title of SS. Callixto e Giulio. In 828 Gregory IV attached a large Augustinian convent to the church. It was restored by Leo IV about 848, by Benedict III (857–8), and in 1139 almost completely rebuilt by Innocent III, to whom we owe the fine mosaics; it was again restored by Nicholas V, Pius V, and Clement XI, and finally by Pius IX in 1870 (Armellini, p. 414; Marucchi, p. 428; Nibby, pp. 140, 488).

of ouꝛ lord spekyng in þis mauerꝛ. Oyle largely spred a brod þat is þi name. The name of ihū is oyle largely spred a brood spred in heuene spred in erde spred in helle. In heuene he ȝeueth seyntis more ioye þan euyr þei deserued. In erde he loueth men þat loue not him and doth good on to hem þat despise him. In helle he *pro*porcioneth nowt þe peyne to þe malice of þe synne. This is ouꝛ byleue þat soules iu helł haue lasse peyne þa*n* þe be worthi.

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Of þe stacion at seynt uitale. caꝑ xxiiii.

Friday in þe secund weke is þe stacion at a cherch dedicate in þe worchip of seynt uitale. A ful desolate place it is and al in ruine as þe*re* be many moo.[1] This same ma*n* uitale was fader on to þoo holy seyntes geruase and *pro*thase martires mad for ouꝛ lordis sake in þe cyte of melane. This uitale was iu so grete reue*r*ens at mela*n* þat he was chose to be on of þe consules whech had gou*er*nau*n*s of al þe puple for a ȝere. He was turued on to crist aud his wif alsoo cleped ualeria be suggestion of cr*i*sten men þat come fro rome. So happed him to go in felauchip of a grete iuge þei clepid paulin*us* on to þat cite cleped rau*enn*a to haue a sessiou*n* up on certeyn defautes. Whau þei weꝛ come þidir þis paulyn*us* ȝaue sente*n*s up on a cristen ma*n* of craft a leche whos name was urciaue. But whan*n* þis uitale sey him walk to his deth with ful heuy cheꝛ be cause he had no cou*n*fort he cried loude on to him þat al þe pnple myth here. Be ware urciane þat þi hert fayle not now for þan art þ*ou* hurt with þe arow of dispeyꝛ whech wou*n*de schal neu*ir* be hol. Think what cou*n*fort þou hast goue oþir men in heꝛ gret myschef and with þat same consolacio*n* cou*n*fort now þi self. For þese wordis þis ma*n* went boldly on to þe torme*n*tis and paciently suffered his deth. Aftir his martirdam uitale took þe body and biried it with grete worchip. The iuge sent aftir him to ȝeue answere to þis offens but he wold not come. He seide he was a cristen ma*n* and aftir þe comau*n*dme*n*t of crist he had doo a dede of obedie*n*s in byrying of his broþir. Paulin*us* was wroth with þis answere made him to be brout be fore him and hangin on to a gebet to loke if he wold reney[2] þat new opinion whech he had take. But whan he sey him stabil in þe feith he comau*n*ded him to be led to a palme

[1] S. Vitale is the very ancient church of the *titulus Vestinae,* the name of a pious Roman matron. It was dedicated hy Innocent I hetween the years 401 and 412, and raised to a title in the name of Vitale and his sons Gervasius and Protasius. It is mentioned hy S. Gregory, and was restored in 1475 and 1595, under Sixtus IV and Clement VIII. There are some traces of the old construction in the exterior walls, so that it is believed that the present church has heen erected directly over the ancient one. It is in the Via Nazionale (Adinolfi, ii, p. 260; Armellini, p. 244; Marucchi, p. 378; Nibby, p. 758).

[2] reney, renay, obs.; Fr. *renier,* to ahjure, renounce.

tre whech tre was halowed on to þe deueles and but if he wold offer encense þere at þat tre he comaunded his officeres þat þei schuld make a dep graue and byry him þere al qwik.[1] A prest of þat hethen lawe whech ȝaue counсel on to þe iuge þat þis man schuld þus be ded was a non a rested / of þe f. 394 r deuele and uii dayes he lay crying. Thou brennyst me uitale. The uii day he ran in to a flood and so mad an ende of his lyf. The wif of þis same martir clepid ualeria aftir þe deth of hir husbond rood hom a gayn on to melan and happed be þe wey sche fond certeyn men in a wood whech mad her sacrifice þere. Thei spoke to hir for to ete and drynk of swech uitaile as was offered on to þoo maumentis. But sche refused it wherfor þei bete hir soo þat unneth[2] myth sche be caried be her seruauntis on to melan with inne iii dayes aftir hir spirit was separat fro þe body & so sent to god.

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Off þe staciou*n* at marcelline and petir. cap̄ xxu.

Satirday in þe same weke is þe stacion at a cherch dedicat on to too seyntis on hith marcelline þe oþir hith petir.[3] This petir was in prison be cause he beleued in crist undir a keper þei clepid archemius. This archemius had a doutir uexed with a wikkid spirit. Petir seid on to archeme his keper þat if he wold beleue in crist his doutir schuld sone be hool. Archemye answerd. I haue grete meruayle of þi foli. Crist þi god not withstanding þat þou art euery day bete for his cause and sufferist eke mech oþir penauns of prison and of yrun may not delyuyr þe. Petir answerd þat it was best to his soule þus with peyne and tribulacion for to plese crist. Tho seid archemius on to petir. I schal bynde þe in prison and ley on þe irun I now if þou can breke oute of prison þan wil I be leue

[1] The date of S. Vitalis is not very certain, as the Epistle of S. Ambrose, which gives most of the evidence regarding him, is not quite clear on the point. The period, however, must be between A.D. 60 and 180. He was a soldier by profession, but it is not known why he left Milan to go to Ravenna. The name of the physician whom he befriended and buried was S. Ursicinus (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, April, vol. iii, p. 562).

[2] uneath, uneasily.

[3] The Church of SS. Peter and Marcellinus is very ancient, and was built in the Via Labicana over a temple of Isis. It is mentioned in the sixth century. Armellini gives an inscription, found in 1750, which would tend to show that the church dated from Pope Siricius (384–98), but in the *Liber Pontificalis* it is said: 'Fecit etiam Gregorius tertius de novo ccclesiam Sanctorum Marcellini et Petri prope Lateranam.' It is quite clear that this must refer to a restoration, or perhaps entire rebuilding, for the church is mentioned (as is said above) in the time of Gregory the Great (cf. Grisar, *Storia di Roma e dei Papi*, t. i, p. 254). The church was reconsecrated by Alexander IV in 1256, restored by Paul IV (1555–9); being in a ruinous state it was entirely reconstructed by Benedict XIV (1740–58), who had been its titular Cardinal (Armellini, p. 325; Marucchi, p. 351; Adinolfi, ii, p. 80; Nibby, p. 586).

on þi lord crist. This man petir þus strongly bounde appered sodeynly on to archemyc clad al in whit and a tokne of þe crosse in his hand. The same houre archemie doutir was hool and þe same archeme with his wif & all his houshold he leuyd in our lord. Tho sent þei aftir marcelline þe preest whech haptized hem alle. A grete iuge of rome clepid serenus called þis marcelline and petir on to his presens and aftir her constaunt confessioun comaunded hem to prison. Marcelline was put in a derk hous wher was neythir mete nor lith alle þe flor strowid with hroke glas and he hare leggis and feet. Petir was stokkid in a noþir hous strongly schette and barred. But an aungell of our lord was sent fro heuene whech clad marcelline with clothis delyuerid him and petir eke and hrout hem on to archemie hous. Whan þis iuge serenus herd sey þat þei were delyuered oute of prison and receyued þus in þe hous of archemye he comaunded þe same archemye and his wif to be þrow to dede with stones. Marcelline and petir he iuged to be led to þe blak wood and þere to he heded. He þat smet of her hedis say her soules with schining cloþis arayed with perle and precious stones of aungellis born up in to heuene and in his last dayes he repent him of his
f. 394 v euele dedes ded gret penauns / and was baptized his name was dorotheus.[1]

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## Off þe stacion at seyut laurens. Cap. xxui

The þird sunday of leuton is þe stacion at þe principal cherch of seynt laurens whech stant oute of þe wallis of rome in a feld þei clepe in agro uerano þat is to sey in þe somer feld. For uer in her tonge is as mech to sey as somer. It is sumtyme seyd of seyntis þat ly þere þat þei were byried iuxta arenarium. Arenarium is a place wher men diggen sond and in sothnesse in þis same place was sumtyme diggid mech sond to make her morter in rome. Now haue þei found a newe ueyn of sond mor north on to seynt anneys ward. This same feld longed sumtyme to a blessed widow þei cleped cyriaca whech 3aue al þat possessioun on to þe seruauntis of seynt laureus. We redyn in

[1] S. Marcelline was a priest, and Peter an exorcist of the Roman Church. Many other martyrs suffered with them, the numbers of the same varying from forty-four in the *Acta Sanctorum*—the names of two, Thomajus and Rogatus, being given—to 400 in an old Martyrologium of Trèves. They were martyred during the persecution of Diocletian in the year 304. The name of their judge is given variously as Serenus and Severus. The place of their death, formerly known as the *silva nigra*, was afterwards renamed the *silva candida*. Their bodies were buried, by a matron named Lucilla, on the Via Labicana, in which work of piety another matron named Firmina is said to have helped; they were afterwards removed to the Catacombs of S. Tiburtius. Constantine built a church on the spot in their honour, which church ranked as the second of the seven having a cardinal's title. It was destroyed by the Saracens and was not reconstructed, but was united with the Bishopric of Porto by Callixtus II. Later, a cemetery in Rome was named after the two saints (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*).

martines cronicle þat constantine þe emperour̄ let make þis cherch of seint laurens and all þat noute be neth þe auter̄ wher̄ seint laurens lith with mech precious þing whech is not þere now for as we seid ofte a boue þese cherches haue be spoiled of tirauntis þat haue conquered rome. This blessed emperour̄ constantine þat spent so mech good in worchip of god and seyntis hath ful grete reward þerfor as we suppose. O þing in þe worchip of seynt laurens wil we reherse who he rewardith his seruauntis. There was an emperour̄ of rome cleped herry whech had a wif called radegundis. These two persones leued in swech perfecciouⁿ þat hoth be o consent kept her̄ maydenhed to god. So aftirward at stering of þe deuele þis emperour̄ fel in a gelosie a geyn his wif demyng of hir oþir wise þan it was. So at his comaundment þe lady was constreyned þat sche schuld goo bare foot on a gad of yrun reed hoot to proue þere hir innocens. Sche mad bir redy and blessed hir with swech wordis. Euene as I am not defiled of herry ne of non oþir man so crist þou be myn help. Thus went sche saf with outen harm ouyr þe hoot yrun saue þat þe emperour̄ smet with grete ire. Sone aftir þis þe emperour̄ deyed and a grete multitude[1] wer̄ gadered he fore an hermytes hous to he present at þe emperouris deth. The hermyte inqwired of hem whidir þei schuld and þei answerd to se þe emperouris ende. He comaunded hem be uertu of þe passion of our̄ lord crist þat þei schuld come a geyn þe same weye and telle him in what plith þe emperour̄ deyed. Thei come a geyn and gaf him þis answere. Oure iornay þei seid is spent in wast for þat brent laurens cam forth with a potte and þrewe it in þe balauns whech weyid down þat fals suspicioun and þat fals iugement a geyn his wif and alle oþir trespaces whech he had doo. In uery treut þis emperour of grete deuocioun whech he had to seynt laurens had offered at his cherch a chalys of so grete wite þat it was mad with / to eres for to lift it esily whech f. 395 r was mad of pur̄ gold. The deueles in here goyng as þei told þis hermyte pullid a wey on of þoo eres. This reuelacion was found soth for it was noted þat in þat same hour̄ þe emperour̄ deyed þe ere of þe chalis eke was founde broke. This storie is rehersed her̄ to magnifie seint laurens and eke sumwhat to enbelching of þe hook.

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## Off þe stacion at seint mark. Cap̄ xxuii.

On munday aftir þe þirde sunday is þe stacion at a cherch of scynt marc[2] but his body lith not þere for it lith at uenys. In þis cherch ly þe holy

[1] 'f fendis', in margin of MS.; ? of fiends.

[2] The church of S. Mark goes back to Pope S. Mark (336–7), and is mentioned in an inscription of 348, where it is called *de Pallacine*. Cicero mentions this locality in his oration *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino*, who was killed *ad balneas palacinas*. The church

martires abdon & senen whech were slayn for cristis loue at rome undir þe tyme of decius.[1] He fond hem in a cyte whech þei clepe corduba for þere were þei accused for tresoun be cause þei byried þoo men þat were killid for crist. Decius comaunded hem to be bounde strongly with yrun cheynes and to be led so to rome be fore his chare. And be cause þei had be in office undir þe empir of rome and wer men of sotil wit and of plenteuous possession he comaunded hem to aper be fore þe senate in a hous þat stood in þe capitol lowe be þe ground cleped in our legendis in tellude. Thei wer brout in as þei wer take for þei were smale kyngis in perse in which perse stant þis cite corduba. Thei wer brout in to þe senat in ful good aray in clopis of gold and precious stones. Alle þe senate meruailed of hem to se so goodly men and so weel arayed þus sore bounde with cheynes. Thoo spak decius on to þe senat on þis maner. Be holde þese men seres for þei be open enmyes on to þe empir fauoureres of tretoures and renegates whech haue for sake our lawe. He comaunded þan to on ualeriane þat he schuld led hem to þe temple of þe sunne for to make her offeryng per if þei wold not he comaunded hem to be deuoured of wilde bestes. Tho ualerian mad hem naked and led hem to þe temple of þe sunne compelled hem to offyr but þei despised þe maument and spatillid þerat. Than were þei beten with staues clobbid with leed led forth in to þat place wher martires wer tormentid and put on to hem too leones and iiii beres. The bestes runne on to hem first with a rage but whan þei cam on to hem þei wex tame lay down be her feet as doggis. Tho þe iuge comaunded her hedes to be smet of and her bodies þrowin be fore þe maument. So lay þei iii dayes in despite of cristen feith. Aftir þoo iii dayes a dekne cleped qwyryne lift up her bodies bar hem hom to his hous closed hem þere in a fayr uessel of led þat þei schuld not rote & biried in þe ground ful priuyly in þe same hous. In constantines tyme þe noble emperour þese same martires appered on to a cristen man þei told him wher he schuld fynde hem and so wer þei translate in to a cymyteri cleped ponciane.

was rebuilt by Gregory IV in the ninth century; to him we owe the apse and the mosaics; it was altered by Paul II, and lastly by Cardinal Quirini in the year 1727 (Armellini, p. 327; Marucchi, p. 384; Nibby, p. 321).

[1] It is not clear whether SS. Abdon and Sennen came of their own free will to Rome, or whether they were brought in triumph from Persia by Decius as *subreguli* of that country, and were then martyred on account of their adherence to the Christian faith. Probably the latter was the case; the wording of the MS.—'to be led so to Rome be fore his chare'—also gives that impression. The rest of the account agrees with the authorities, except that they were possibly buried in the cemetery *ad ursum pileatum*. Stadler mentions a marble relief bearing their names and portraits, and says that their heads each bear a crown and a Persian cap (cf. the illustration in the *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 130). The acts of these martyrs, however, are late in date, and cannot be accepted as authoritative (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, July, vol. vii, p. 130).

/ Of þe stacion at a cherch cleped sei*n*t pote*n*cianc. cap̄ xxuiii. f. 395 v

Tewisday in þe same weke is þe stacion at a cherch dedicate in þe name of an holy uirgine cleped potenciane.[1] Sche was doutir on to an holy man disciple of sei*n*t petir whos name was pudens.[2] Hir modir hith sabinella hir sistir hith praxedis of whom we schal speke of aftir. This noble woma*n* pote*n*ciane was lerned of hir fader in þe lawe of crist and educate in p*er*fith lif on þe best maner̄. Aftir þe deith of hir fader be þe cou*n*cel of pius þe pope & of anothir holy man ny of hir kin cleped pastor[3] sche mad hir hous a cherch and all hir seruau*n*tis þat wold be cristen sche mad hem fre and relesed her bondage be þe consent of praxede whech was hir̄ sistir. Aftir many good dedis do god gaf hir reward of hir good werkys for sche deyed þe xiiii kalend of june and is byried in þe cymyterie cleped p*ri*scille. In þis same cherch of seynt pote*n*ciane ar iii þousand bodies of seyntis þe most part martires for crist. In þis cherch is a chapel with an auter̄ and a au*n*gell̄ depeynted be þe auter on þe wal and on þe rith hand in þe cornere is a grete hole as mech as a man may sitte in whech was mad be myracle in þis wise. Petir whan he was in p*ri*son at instau*n*s of his frendis was late loos not knowyn on to þe gayleres. Tho fled petir on to þis same hous. And a non as he cam in þe wal ȝaue him as mech place as he myth hide his body in. The gayleres whech had take charge of his bodi folowid and sey hym naUt be cause he was hid in þe wal but þei sey a fayre ȝong ma*n* standyng þ*er*e whech was petires au*n*gell̄ to him þei spak & inqwired of him if he say ony ma*n* þat had neuly broke prison. He answerd on to hem in þis maner̄. I haue m*er*ueile he sayde þat ȝe se him naut and he sittith he þer̄ in þe corner̄. Thus be bewreying of þe au*n*gell̄ was petir take and led a geyn to

[1] The church of S. Pudenziana, like that of S. Prassede (ch. xlviii), is said to have been founded on property helonging to the family of Pudens, hut to have been separated from the latter by the Vicus Patricius (Via Urhana). It was founded in the second century under S. Pius I, and took the name of *titulus Pastoris* or *Pudentis*. The term *lector de Pudentiana* occurs on a sepulchral monument of the year 384, when Ricimer and Clearcus were consuls. The church was restored under Hadrian I; Gregory VII in the eleventh century; Innocent II, twelftb century; hy Cardinal Gaetani, sixteenth century; and lastly hy Cardinal Bonaparte (Adinolfi, ii, p. 240; Armellini, p. 565; Marucchi, p. 364; Nihby, p. 677).

[2] S. Pudens from tbe earliest autborities appears to have been a Roman senator; he was the son of Punicus and Priscilla, and the friend of SS. Peter and Paul at Rome. His mother founded the earliest Christian cemetery. He was twice married. It is not quite certain wbich was the first wife, hut tbe name of one wife was Claudia, a Briton hy birtb, who hare him two sons, SS. Novatus and Timotheus (2 Tim. iv. 21); the name of the other was Sahinella, the mother of SS. Pudenziana and Praxedis. S. Pudenziana is the first maiden recorded to have taken the veil, and is believed to have died in peace about the middle of the second century, after a life of piety (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*, vol. iv, p. 1005; *Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. iv, p. 296).

[3] See note 3, p. 74.

prison. Here may men inqwire of me whepir it was þe wil of god þat petir schuld skape fro prison or nowt. That it was his wil þei may proue be þe grete myracle whech god ded for him whanne he hid him in þe wal. Whi schuld þoo stones ȝeue place to hide peteres body but if god wold þat petir schuld be hid. And whi wold he petir schuld be hid but þat þe gaileres schuld not fynde him. On þe opir partye men may argw and sey þat it was goddis wil he schuld be take be cause he sent a aungell to telle þe keperes wher he was and þe testimoni of a aungel is more expresyue þat it was goddis wil þann is þe meuyng of stones. To þis difficulte sum men auswer in general þat ofte tyme god sufferith summe men to haue here desir as for a tyme and
f. 396 r ȝet hath he ordeyned an opir ende for hem in his / prouidens. So may we sey of petir þat perauentur he was a ferd of deth whech was ordeyned for him and up on þat fere he preyed god he myth be excused fro þoo bittir tormentis for we rede so of crist þat he prayed on to his fader for þe same entent and oure lord sent him warnyng be þe first myracle þat his prayeres were acceptable in þe sith of god and be þe secunde myracle he mad him to haue knowlech þat it was goddis wil he schuld turne a geyn to prison and þere abide þe deth whech was ordeyned for him. This same processe is grounded in þe gospell where oure lord saide to petir whan þou were ȝong þou girt þe & went whidir þou wold but whan þou art agid a nopir man schal gird þe and lede þe whidir þou wilt nowt. This seid our lord menyng herby þat sumtyme petir schuld be suffered for to do as he wold and sumtyme he schuld be led to do þat he wold not. In þis same cherch is a chapel with an auter at whech auter was do þat grete myracle þat I telle. There stood a prest at messe sumtyme iu swech plith perauentur as was not pleasaun̄s to god and swech tyme as he schuld receyue þe sacrament þe same sacrament sodeynly fled a wey fro him and fel ou a marbil ston. On to þis day it lith stiłł incorporat on to þe ston hard as ston sane it hath a nopir colour þan þe ston.[1] In þis same cherch eke is þe stool on whech crist satte whan he mad his maunde.

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## Of þe stacion at a cherch of seint sixt. cap̄ xxix.

Wednysday in þat same weke is þe stacion at a cherch dedicate to seynt sixte. At þis cherch dwelle cloos nunnes whech haue on of þe ymages of our lady þat seynt luke peyntid as þei sey.[2] This sixte was a pope * in rome in

[1] In speaking of the miracle of the host which fell out of the priest's hand, Muffel says that the host is red and the stone white. He also speaks of the miracle of S. Peter hiding in the cavity in the wall (p. 43).

[2] Under Leo III there existed, near the very ancient title of S. Sixtus, two monasteries, S. Cesano *de Corsas* or *Corsarum*, afterwards called *in Turrim* or *de Palatio*, and S. Simmetrius. Leo IV united them under the title of SS. Simmetrius and Cesarius

þat same tyme þat seynt laurens lyued þer for he was maystir on to seynt laurens. He was bore at atenes þe nobil studye of grece aud taute þere in philosophie ou þe best maner. Aftirward cam he to rome and þere for his uobil conuersacioun he was chose to þat dignite hed of þe cherch. Decius herd of his lif and eke of his disciples seut aftir him in to a hous cleped in tellude al be nyth. But when he was a rested þis noble man sixtus he seide on to his clerkis. Breþrin myn beth uot a ferd. Alle þese seyutis þat deyed be for us þei suffered þoo tormentis with grete paciens þat þei schuld þe more sikirly come to þe euyrlastyng lif. Our lord ihū suffered swech deth for us to 3eue us exaumpil of ful grete sikirnesse. And with a lowde uoys he seid. Come forth and folow me let no man be a ferd of peynes. His disciples answered. We fadir schul go with þe. Whidir schuld we go but þere our fadir goth. Thus wer þei led be fore decius and he spak on to him in þis maner. Knowist þou sixte whi þou art called aud whi þat our officeres haue brout þe to our presens. Sixtus auswered þat he knew it weel. / Decius said on to him. If þou knowe it wel make þi clerkis f. 396 v
for to knowe þe same þat þou may lyue and þi clerkis be encresed. Sixtus answerd. Treuly ser I do and haue do ful grete bysynesse þat my clergi schuld be encresed. Go make sacrifise said decius yanne on to him, to our goddis þat be immortale and þou schal be in oure lawe prince of alł þe prestes. I haue sayde sixtus mad sacrifise to god omnipotent and to our lord ihū crist haue I offered a clene hoost and undefiled in þe ministerie of þe cherch. Decius saide on to him. 3ene counsel to þin age as we counsel þe so þou take heed at þi welfare and at þe helth of þi clerkis. Sixtus answerd. On to þis day haue I 3oue hem swech counsel þat fro þe dep pit of helle I haue be euyr bisi with al my labour to kepe hem. Decins was wrooth aud seid on to him. Make sacrifise on to our goddis or elles þou schal be exaumple to alle þoo þat despise our goddis. Sixtus saide. Rith now I saide on to þe þat I haue made sacrifise to our god in heuene and to our lord ihū crist for oþir sacrifise wil I non make. Thoo decius comaunded his knytis þat þei schuld lede him to þe temple of mars whech stood þaun uia appia fast by þat place cleped domine quo uadis aud if he wold not offer he bad hem bryng him a geyn and put him in mamortines prison whech stant fast by þe capitol. Iu his ledyng he 3aue swech exhortaciones on to his lederes þat yei despised her lord and beleued in our lord ihū crist. Othir officeres be cause he wold uot obeye brout him on to mamortines prison. And whan he was þere seint laurens his disciple cam on to him with swech wordis. Whidir wilt þou

Corsarum, and the church was called S. Maria Corsarum. In 1219 the monastery was given to Dominican nuns, and took the name of SS. Domenico e Sisto (Armellini, p. 332; Marucchi, p. 168; Nibby, pp. 209, 719).

fader goo with oute þi son, þou weꝛ neuyr wone to offir with oute a seruaunt ne neuyr make no sacrifise but if þou had a ministir. What seest þou in me þat schuld displese þi fadirhood. Hast þou founde me on kynde or ellis ontrewe. Take now trewe experiens whether þou haue chosen a trosti ministir or nowt. To me hast þou comitted to minister þe sacrament of cristis body on to þe puple, to me hast þou comitted ministracioun of þe sacramentis and now denyest to me felauchip of þi martirdam. Aftir many oþir wordis whech seint laurens had seynt sixt saide on to him. I forsake þe not son in no maner wise but I do þe to wite þat gretter tormentis ar kept for þe. We as aged men haue chosen a wey of esy batayle the as a ȝong man abydyn gretter tormentis whech þou schal suffir. Aftir iii dayes þou schal folow me. Helie left helise be hind him whan he was raueschid to heuene and took no uertu fro him. Aftir þese wordes was sixtus brout on to ualeriane þe iuge and he comaunded him to be led to martis temple with
f. 397 r his deknes felicissimus & agapitus and þere heꝛ he/dis to be smet of. This ende made þis holy pope *.[1]

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Of þe stacion at cosmas & damianus. caꝑ xxx.

Thursday in þe same weke is þe stacion at a cherch of cosmas and damianus fast be þat place whech was clepid templum pacis.[2] There resten eke

[1] S. Sixtus, after a very short reign (257–8), was arrested in the cemetery of S. Callixtus and martyred, together with SS. Quartus, Felicissimus, Agapitus, Januarius, Vincentius, Magnus, and Stephanus. This was done hy order of the Emperor Valerian, shortly before his departure on a journey to the East. Pope S. Stephen I appointed Sixtus his archdeacon, and nominated him as his successor. Before the outhreak of the persecution in which he suffered, he had taken the precaution of placing the heads of SS. Peter and Paul in safety (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. i, p. 155; *Acta Sanctorum*, August, vol. ii, p. 124).

[2] The church of SS. Cosmo and Damian was founded ahout 526 hy Felix IV, who incorporated in it two pagan temples. Owing to the rise in the level of the ground in the Forum, Urban VIII raised the level of the floor of the church; he removed the old entrance doors, and replaced them on the higher level. The old altar, however, can still be seen in the subterranean crypt. The church was formerly designated *in silice* and *in tribus fatis*. The first name refers to the *selce* pavement 'uhi cecidit Simon Magus', the second to a name given to that part of the Forum from a statuary group of the three Fates (Armellini, p. 195; Adinolfi, i, p. 412; Marucchi, p. 355; Nibhy, p. 182). 'Das ist an dem Tempel gewest Rumoli, darnach ist der tempel Antonini gestanden des keysers und Faustina und die seulen des Tempels sten noch eins teyls do und ein schwipogen stet do pey S. Lorentzen, heist Tripolis, do man die drei stet gewan, do wurd er gemacht, do sind vil schoner merbelpild' (Muffel). The name Tripolis (probahly a corruption of *in tribus fatis*) puzzles Vogt, and he thinks the arch meant is that of Titus. This, however, is some distance off, and the remains of the Arch of Fahius have more recently heen discovered near this spot. Could it hy any chance have heen still standing in 1452? There are the remains of 'vil schoner merbelpild' scattered all around, including the memorial erected hy the Senate in memory of the grandchildren of Augustus, &c.

þe bodies of mauricii exupii & candidi þat were gouernouris of a legion sent fro thebes [1] on to rome to maximiane þe emperour whech wer eke martires for crist undir þat same tyraunt. These to breþrin cosmas [2] were lechis of craft & born iu arabye þis grace of þe holy goost þei had þat whom so euir þei fond seek þei cured hym a non with outen ony cost of þe pacient. Lisias þat was president of þe cyte called hem on to him and inqwired of hem her names. Thei said þei hith cosmas and damianus. Thre breþrin eke þei had as þei said * ~~þei had~~ * [3] whos names þei cleped antinius leoncius euprepius. Alle were sent aftir and whan þei were come he comaunded hem to do sacrifise to ydoles. Thei wold not. Wherfor he comaunded hem to be tormented with hot yrnes both in her handis and her feet. In þese peynes þei þankid god with mery chere as þouȝ þei had no torment suffered. Tho þe iuge bad þei schuld be bounde to gidir with strong cheynes and so to be þrow in þe se. Thus were þei serued and be þe myty hand of god delyuered for sodeynly þei stood be fore þe iuge a geyn. Grete wondyr had þe iuge of þis delyueraun*s* and seyd on to hem. Tech me þis wichcraft whech ȝe use and I schal be felaw with ȝour werkis. A non as he had seid þese wordes deueles appered uisibily and bete him þat he was fayn to chaunge his langage and sey on to cosmas & his breþrin on þis maner. I pray ȝou ȝe seyntis of god pray for me. A non as þei prayed for his help þe deueles fled fro hym. Tho þe iuge turned on to his errour a geyn sayde on to his assessouris, Take heed now who wrooth oure goddis wer with me be cause I was in purpose to forsake hem. Thoo bad he þei schuld be þrowe in a grete fire but be þe myth of our lord it was sone qwenchid and þei sone delyueryd. Tho wold he þat þe puple schuld þrow hem to ded with stones but þoo stones turned a geyn to þe þroweres and hurt hem greuously. Than wer þei hange on a tre and men redy with scorgis for to bete hem but þe beteres wer wery er þe seyntes wer sory. Than wer þei teyid on to a tre and men redy with arowis to schote hem to þe deth. The arowes hurt þe puple and þe scheteres þe seyntes had no harm. Thus last of alle he comaunded her hedis to be smet of and her bodies wer left þat doggis and woluys schuld ete hem. But cristen

Also, at this period, a considerable part of the Regia was still standing (Muffel, p. 44).

[1] The massacre of the Christians of the Theban Legion, which took place in 302, is fully described in Stadler. The account rests on the strongest evidence, and occurred at Octodurum (Martinach) in the Rhone Valley. It appears that the fate of the martyrs was brought about by their refusing to sacrifice to heathen gods, when preparing to start on a campaign. Mauritius is described as the Commander of the Legion, Exsuperius (not Exupius) as the *Campiductor*, and Candidus as the *Senator militum*. S. Moritz takes its name from S. Mauritius (*Acta Sanctorum*, September, vol. vi, p. 309).

[2] '& damianus' in margin of MS.

[3] From * to * interlineated and struck through in MS.

men *pr*iuyly caried hem and biried hem with grete worchep.[1] Felix þe uiii pope* ded make heꝛ cherch in rome as it is writyn þ*er*e in uers of whech
f. 397 v sum*m*e schul be rehersed / here. These þei be. Aula dei claris radiat speciosa metallis martiribus medicis populis spes certa salutis Optulit hoc d*omi*no felix antistite dignu*m*. Thus mene þei in englisch. The halle of god schynyth and þat ful fayꝛ with metalł. With martires and leches to þe puple hope of uery helth Felix offered it to ouꝛ lord ful worþi on to þe mytyr.[2]

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Of þe stacion at sei*n*t laure*n*s in lucina. Caꝑ xxxi.

Friday in þe þird weke is þe stacion at seynt laurens in lucina a fayre cherch it is and a cardinales place ioyned þ*er*to for þis cherch is his tytle.[3] Theꝛ lith þe body of seynt lucyne whos grou*n*d þis was and many mo in rome.[4] Theꝛ is eke þe cheyne with whech sei*n*t laure*n*s was bou*n*de in prison and many oþir relikis. Here may me*n* know wel þat þis blessed martir laurens suffered mech þing for crist er þat he was rosted. For he was bou*n*de in p*r*ison whech tyme he cured al þe blind men þat cam on to him. Thus rede we þat on lucillus a hethen man was in p*r*ison with him and for

[1] The account of SS. Cosmo and Damian, as given in the MS., agrees with the accepted authorities. They are called by the Greek Church *ἀνάργυροι*, because they were willing to heal the sick without fee or reward. They lived in this manner for some years in Aegea in Cilicia, and were martyred in that province by order of Lysias the governor thereof. This took place probably about the year 287. At the time of the Crusades an order of knighthood was established in their honour, the members of which lived according to the rule of the Basilians, whose duty it was to care for sick pilgrims and to release prisoners. It did not, however, have a long existence (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, September, vol. vii, p. 428).

[2] The remainder of this inscription, which still exists, is as follows: 'In qua plus fidei ◊ lux pretiosa micat † Venite × Sacro ◊ Crevit honore locus † Munus ut aetheria ◊ Vivat in arcepoli.' The portrait in mosaic of Felix IV (not VIII) was restored in 1660, unfortunately out of all resemblance to the original, which was probably a true likeness.

[3] The church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina was founded in the fourth century. Lucina was a pious Roman matron, who converted her house into this basilica, which she constructed at her own expense. It was a station church in the sixth century, was restored by Benedict II about 685, then by Hadrian I in 780, and later by Celestine III, who reconsecrated it in May, 1196. Although it retains its old mediaeval porch, the interior was entirely remodelled in the seventeenth century. It was originally known as the *Titulus Lucinae*, under which name it is mentioned at the end of the fifth century. In July, 1872, several tombs of the eighth century were discovered near the church, while carrying out some works at the Palazzo Fiano. One of the epitaphs is of the time of Hadrian I (783), and refers to a deacon named Paul, who was present at the Roman Synod of that year (Armellini, p. 309; Marucchi, p. 405; Nibby, p. 301).

[4] The *Mart. Rom.* says of S. Lucina, that she was a disciple of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, that she devoted her property and spent her life in helping Christians who were in need, in visiting those confined in prison, and burying the remains of the martyrs. The name is mentioned in many of the Acts of the Saints, but at widely different periods (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*).

þout and schame felle in swech weping þat he lost his sith. Laurens said on to him þat if he wold be leue in ouꝛ lord ihū crist he schuld haue his sith a geyn. Lucille sayd þat he beleued. Tho laurens baptized him & mad him hool of blyndnesse. Aftir þis many blynde men cam on to him for helth and he put his handes up on hem and holed hem. This was þe principal cause whi ypolitus[1] his kepeꝛ beleued in ouꝛ lord and forsoke alł þe ydoles redy to take martirdam as he ded. For after þe deth of seynt laurens he was drawe to dede with wild hors. Of seynt laurens speke we no moꝛ now for we talked moꝛ largely of him be fore.

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Of þe stacion at seynt susanne. Caꝑ xxxii.

Satirday in þe þirde week is þe staciouⁿ at a cherch of seynt susanne fast by þe place whech is cleped terme diocleciane[2] þat is to sey þe bathis of diocleciane for þis diocleciane mad þeꝛ a ful solempne paleys þe wallis and archis and many uoutis stand at þis day. Theꝛ were housis undir þe grouⁿd rennyⁿg with kunditis of cold watir wheꝛ lordis refreschid hem in somyr for þe suⁿne is passing hote þere. Theꝛ weꝛ houses eke a boue þe grouⁿd in whech ruⁿne hot cuⁿditis and þere abiden þe lordis in cold wedir. This paleys was gret & occupied mech lond, and on þe west side þerof stant þis place of seynt susanne. A faiꝛ cherch it is and a praty place annexid þerto fer fro ony dwelleres half a myle on sum side on sum side a hol myle. This place is newly ȝoue to þe freris whech be cleped hermytes of seynt austyn þere dwell now iiii for þe place is not grete. This pope nicholas sith he was pope translate þe body of seynt susanne[3] fro seynt peteres / kirk on f. 398 r
to þis same as an englisch frere told me whech was on of hem þat bare hir. And þe ston þat was up on hir is boꝛ þidir eke on whech þese uers be wrytyn. Olim presbiteri gabini filia felix Hic susanna jacet in pace patri sociata.[4] Thus mene þei in ouꝛ tonge. Sumtyme of a prest gabine þe

[1] See note 2, p. 82.

[2] The church of S. Susanna is said to have been founded, late in the third century, in two houses which belonged to Pope S. Caius and his brother S. Gabinius, the father of S. Susanna. It was known under the name *ad duas domos*, and was in front of the Forum of Sallust. The name *ad duas domos* was altered to *inter duas lauros* in the *Liber Pontificalis*, but some excavations carried out in 1880 have disclosed the remains of ancient Roman houses of the third century on which the church stands. This would tend to show that the former name is correct (Adinolfi, ii, p. 328; Armellini, p. 637; Marucchi, p. 380; Nibby, p. 732).

[3] Nicholas V, elected Pope March 19, 1447, died March 24, 1454.

[4] S. Gabinius (or Gabinus) was the father of S. Susanna, and the brother of the Pope S. Caius. He was a learned man, and the author of several treatises against the heathen religion. On the death of his wife he entered the priesthood; he then devoted himself principally to the instruction of catechumens. He suffered martyrdom under Diocletian.

douter rych Here susanne sche lith in pes coupled to hir fader. Of þis susanne I mad inqwisicion * ~~of þis susanne~~ *[1] what sche was for sum men supposed þat it had be susanne of þe elde lawe whech was wyf to ioachim and doutyr on to helchie whech was accused ful wrongfully of too prestes and delyuered with grete myracle be daniel þe prophete. These men þat seyd þus had a colour for her opinione þat þe story of þis same susanne is red þat same day in þe epistel of þe messe. But a noþir opinion was told me whech was sayd me þat þis susanne was wif to seynt alexe son to eufermyane a grete lord in rome whech dwelt in þe mount aduentyne for þere was his paleys and now it is a cherch of scint sabyn and a couent of frere prechouris. That sche was a prestir doutyr is not inconuenient for so was seynt pernel. Seynt alexe whan he had wedded her he took his leue of hir ful priuyly in his chambir and sche aftir þat tyme lyued a ful solitary lyf plesing god with fastyng and prayer and so endewred al hir lyf.[2]

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Of þe stacion at ierlm̄ in seint cruces. cap̄ xxxiii.

The iiii sunday of lenton is þe stacion at a chapel undir seynt cruces called ierusalem of whech we spak be fore. We saide þer þat þis was þe conclaue of seynt helyn whech at hir instauns was halowed in worchep of þe crosse and cleped ierlm̄ as a memorial of hir noble labour þat both sout & fond þe crosse at ierlm̄. For whan constantine was baptized of siluestir and þis same heleyne turned on to þe feith a non with a gret dcuocion sche weut on to ierlm̄ to seke þe crosse whech our lord hyng on. Whan sche was com þidir and þe iewes had knowyng þat sche had newly receyued þe feith of our lord þei wer a ferd and seid a mongis hem. What wil þis lady do hope ȝe. On of hem whech hith judas said on to hem. I wote ful wel þat sche wil inqwyre of us where þat crosse is in whech ihū crist was hangin. Be ware þat non of ȝou be wrey þis councel for if ȝe doo oure lawe is distroyed and all our forfaderes customes schul turne to nowt. Zacheus whech was my graunt ser said on to my fadir and my fadir told it on to me.

He is said to have been a relative or connexion of that emperor, and to have come from Dalmatia originally (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, February, vol. iii, p. 128). 'Da selbst lygt Sant Susanna und ir vater' (*Ein Büchlin*, &c., p. F ii, Strassburg, 1500, B.M.).

[1] From * to * struck out and interlineated in MS.

[2] S. Susanna, virgin martyr, was daughter to S. Gabinius and niece to S. Caius, Pope. Owing to her having taken a vow of virginity, she refused to enter into matrimonial relations with the adopted son of Diocletian, and her chastity was miraculously protected by an angel. She suffered great torments with unshaken fortitude, and was beheaded in her own chamber about the year 295 (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, August, vol. ii, p. 624).

Thus saide he on to me whan he schuld dey. Take heed son at my wordis if þere he mad ony inqwyraunce of þe crosse whech ihū hing up on rather þan þou schal deye telle hem where it is for fro þat tyme þat it is founde schal neuyr ouꝛ nacioun stand in worchip hut al þat worchip whech / ~~whech~~[1] f. 398 v
we had schal turne on to þe cristen feith. I said þat tyme on to my fadir. Sith ouꝛ nacioun knew wel þat he was crist whi wold þei put him on þe crosse. My fadeꝛ answerd herto and saide. God knowith I consented neuyr on to þat deth hut oft spak I a gayn hem þat conspired his deth. But þe principal cause of his deth was þat openly he prechid a geyn þe uices whech þe pharisees usen. But þis is sikir þat þe þird day aftir his passion he ros fro þe deth and fourty dayes aftir þat resurreccioun was he seyn who he went up in to heuene not only of his disciples but of many oþir of ouꝛ nacioun. And þese myracles were cause þat steuene þi broþir he leued in him and prechid of him openly þat he was messias whech ouꝛ lawe seith schuld come for whech preching þei stoned him to þe deth. Therfor son he þou waꝛ þat þou blaspheme not þe name of ihū ne speke no euele of non of his disciples. Whan þe iues herd iudas telle þis tale þei said. þis þing herd we neuyr or now hut whan we come in presens of þe qween loke þou talk not so large. Sone aftir þis comunicacioꝛ þei come he fore þe qween sche inqwired wheꝛ þe crosse was hut non of hem wold make knowlech wherfor sche comaunded hem to be hrent. Thoo in grete fere þei accused iudas and said to þe qween þat he was most pryuy to þis mateꝛ where þe crosse and many oþir þingis were hid. Tho lete sche hem alle goo and on to iudas sche said. Deth or lyf may þou chese hut if þou telle me where þe crosse is þou schal dey. He answerd & saide. Now is it ij c ȝere sith it was hid I was not þanñ hore ne many ȝere aftir who wold ȝe desire þis þing of me. Tho was he put in a dep pitte and kept þere with oute mete and drynk wenyng to him þat he schuld deye þere for hungir. Than he asked mercy and promised þat he schuld telle hiꝛ where it was. Whann he had hrout hir to þe place he set him on his knes and praied ouꝛ lord god þat he schuld fynde it. Sodeynly aftir his prayeꝛ al þe erde qwakid and out of certeyn riftis cam oute smek whech smelled swetter þan ony spis. Tho iudas lift up his handis for ioye and cried with a loude uoys. Now knowe I uerily þat þou crist art sauyouꝛ of þis world. Thei doluen xx passes & foundyn iii crosses aꝉ iii hore þei in to þe cite and a boute non of þat same day þere was a ded man brout on a bere, iudas took o crosse and laide it on þe man & he roos not þo took he þe secund and he lay stiꝉ þan þe þird and he roos. Wherhy þei knew wel þat was þe crosse whech crist halowid with his blood. Tho founde þei þe nayles and sche receyued hem with ful grete reuerens. Mech þing is

[1] 'whech' struck out and interlineated in MS.

writin of þis stori whech I leue now for I wil make declaracion of oþir staciones whech be at oþir places.[1]

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f. 399 r Of þe stacion / at a cherch cleped quatuor coronator*um*. Capitlm̄ xxxiiii.

Munday in þe fourt weke is þe stacion at a cherch of iiii coro*nato*r*is* on a hiłł on þe rith hand as we goo to seyn ion lateranensis on to whech cherch eke is annexid a faiꝛ place longyng on to a cardinale.[2] In þis cherch lith þe

[1] The story of the Invention of the Cross follows the usually accepted version, and needs no remark; but the life of S. Helena is of such interest to our nation that something may be said about her in this place. Her full name was Flavia Julia Helena; she was the wife of Constantius Chlorus, and the mother of Constantine the Great. The date and place of her hirth are hoth uncertain. Some authors, especially the British, say tbat she was horn in Britain at York or Colchester, and that she was the daughter of King Coilus. Others fix her hirthplace at Trèves. The principal reason for accepting the former theory is tbat Constantine is helieved to have heen horn in Britain. But even this is uncertain, as some authorities, notahly Pagius and Tillemont, assert that he was horn at Naissus (Nissa) in Servia. And it is curious that Bede never mentions the fact of his having first seen the light in our country. The only certainty is that Constantius Chlorus, who was co-emperor with Diocletian, died in Britain. Some German authorities have asserted that Trèves was the hirthplace of S. Helena, but the grounds for this statement are even weaker than the grounds for the first-mentioned theory. As early as the sixth century Drepana in Bithynia was said to be the real place where she was born, and hoth Nicephorus and Procopius support this view. This town was on the Bosphorus, and was afterwards renamed Helenopolis after the empress. The probahle date of her hirth was A.D. 248, and S. Amhrose—who was a boy of five years of age when Constantius Chlorus died—says that she was of humhle extraction, and was the manageress of a postal station when Constantius first met her. S. Ambrose, as the son of a prefect, may very easily have heard this from his own father. Eutropius, an imperial private secretary, in his Roman history states that after the death of Constantius, his son Constantine, horn of a humble marriage (*ex obscuriore matrimonio*), was elected emperor in Britain; and he must have known the facts, as he was a Court official who accompanied Julian the Apostate to Persia. Some pagan writers even assert that Constantine was illegitimate, *filius spurius*, hut this can hardly be true, and the statement is attributable to their hatred of the Christian empress. Had this heen the case, the aristocratic and proud Diocletian would hardly have cast his eye on Constantius's natural son to succeed him after his death; nor would the son have dared to call his mother *Augusta*. Nor would Eumenides in his panegyric have presumed to say to him: Thou hast deserved the empire through thy birth; *imperium nascendo meruisti*. S. Helena was eventually divorced by Constantius, and settled at Trèves. Eutropius, in speaking of this, calls her the *uxor* of the emperor, and uses the words *diremptis prioribus coniugiis* in speaking of the divorce. Coins and inscriptions also hear witness to a legal union. So far as is known, Constantine was her only son. She died, at the age of eighty, in the year 328, at Byzantium or Nicomedia. Her hody was brought to Rome hy Constantine's orders (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, August, vol. iii, p. 548).

[2] The church of the SS. Quatuor Coronati existed on the Caelian Hill from the fourth or fifth century; it was rebuilt hy Honorius I in the seventh, and by Leo IV in the ninth centnry. There is a convent attached to the church, but the history of the four martyrs is very obscure. After the sack of Rome hy Robert Guiscard, Pascal II rebuilt the church; it was again restored under Martin V, by Cardinal Carillo, and later hy

body of on mari*us* þat cam fro perse and took his martirdam in rome. Theꝛ lith his wif eke whech hite martha and his too sones on hith audifax an oþir abacuk alle iii martires eke.[1] These foure coronatoures were grauouris of ymagery and entayle most speciali in stoon. Thei fou*n*de first þe man*er* of werkyng in hard stones both of sawing grauy*n*g and pulching at it is seide at rome. Dyuers oppiniones be of heꝛ names su*m*me sey þ*er*e weꝛ but fouꝛ whech hith þus seuerius seueriani*us* carpoforus & uictorini*us*. Su*m* sey þ*er*e weꝛ .u. claudi*us* nichostrat*us* castori*us* simphoriani*us* & simplici*us*. The names of þe iiii first myth not be fou*n*de and þ*er*for þe cherch sette in þese .u. for þei were martirized þe same day. Diocleciane mad a grete te*m*pil in whech he wold make a grete simulacꝛ of þe sunne with cart and hors and al þe aray as þe poetes feyned. For þei feyned þat þe su*n*ne ridith in a chare of iiii wheles and þe mone in a cart of to wheles and mech oþir þing. But to þis entent say we þis, Diocleciane had fou*n*d a noble ueyn in þe erde of a p*r*ecious ston þei clepe thaso he did clepe both philisophres and grauoures and told he*m* his a uys þat he wold haue a chare grauen in þis ston with iiii wheles and iiii hors and a man standi*n*g in þe chare whech schuld represent þe su*n*ne. These iiii coronatouri*s* were p*r*esented on to him a mongi*s* many oþir werkme*n* as most parfith and most sotil i*n* ymaginacion. But þei wer p*r*iuy cristen men and þat þei schuld werk þei wrout it in þe worchip of crist and seyntis elles wold þei no þing graue. Grete strif was þ*er*e many day be twix þe philisophres and þe werkme*n* in what maner þis ston schuld be kit. So at þe comau*n*dme*n*t of diocleciane þ*er*e weꝛ[2] on a day sex hundred werkme*n* and xx with too philisophres & eu*er* was þ*er*e gret strif be twix he*m*. These iiii coronatoures stood be side and ded naut to þe werk. Thoo þe philisophres chalanged hem and seid on to hem. What is þe cause þat ȝe obeye not on to þe comau*n*dme*n*t of þe most goodly and mekest p*r*i*n*ce diocleciane. Claudius spak for hem. We wil not blaspheme him þat mad us ne we wil do no swech werk in whech we schuld be fou*n*d gilty in his sith. The philisophres said þan on to hem. It semeth þat ȝe be cristen men. Thei answerd all with o

Pius IV. Two Popes, Leo IV and Stephen VI, were elected in it (Adinolfi, i, p. 327; Armellini, p. 571; Marucchi, p. 223; Nibby, p. 682).

[1] SS. Marius and Martha came from Persia to Rome with their sons SS. Audifax and Abacuk, and suffered martyrdom during the reign of Claudius (268–70). Marius is sometimes called Marcus, Marinus, Maras, and Maris. Abacuk has many variants, such as Abachum, Abbacuc, Abacuc, Abachuch, Ambacuc, Ambacum, Ambacu, Abacen, and Nabuchum. The father and the two sons were taken prisoners at Ostia, and cruelly tortured before martyrdom; the mother was thrown into a well. They are sometimes (in Germany) venerated as the three physicians (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, January, vol. ii, pp. 214 and 1136.

[2] 'gade' (?part of 'gadered') in margin of MS. The rest of the word is cut off.

uoys. Treuly are we cristen men. Thoo þe philisophres chose oþir werkmen whech mad an ende with inne xxx daies. And whan þis werk was brout be fore þe sith of þe emperour̃ he merueiled þerof and seid. This
f. 399 v haue þei made þat are hald so gret / maisteres in þis craft. The philisophres answerd. Holi prince þo men of whom ȝe speke ar cristen men and be magik wene for to make all men subiect on to hem. Diocleciane said. If þis be soth we schul haue experiens and þe same hour̃ he comanded on lampadius to do execucioun up on hem. First he cleped hem and schewid al maner̃ tormentry and inqwired of hem wheidir þei wold do sacrifise to þe immortal goddis or nowt. Thei wold not do his comaundment as þei saide. Tho mad he hem naked to be betyn with scorgis and a crier in þe betyng cried þus. The preceptis of princes schuld ȝe not despise. Iu þat same our̃ lampadius was obcessid with a deuelc and eue in his sete he rent him selue and deyde. His wif and his eyir runne to þe paleys crying ueniaunge of þese wicchis. Tho þe emperour̃ comaunded þat þei alle schuld be wound in led and so þrowyn in tybir. But with in fewe dayes a cristen man cleped nichodemus lift up þe bodies and biried hem in his hous.[1]

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Off þe stacion at s̄ laurens in damasco. xxxu.

Tewisday in þat same weke is þe stacion at a cherch cleped laurencii in damasco. This cherch stant fast be campflour̃.[2] But whi it is clepid in damasco I haue not lerned ȝet wel wot I þat damascus was sumtyme þe principal cite of surry. On cleped eleezer steward of abrahames houshold

[1] Much doubt has always existed as to the names of the four crowned martyrs, hut the generally accepted ones are Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus. They were heaten to death with clubs, and their remains thrown to the dogs, which, however, refused to touch them. After heing watched for five days, they were honourably huried in the Via Labicana. As their names were unknown, Pope Melchiades ordered that they should he venerated under the name of the *Quatuor Incoronati* (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, Novemher, vol. iii, p. 748).

[2] The church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso was erected hy Pope S. Damasus near the ruins of the theatre of Pompey in the year 380. It was restored hy Hadrian I and Leo III, and entirely reconstructed when Cardinal Riario built the adjoining palace of the Cancelleria. Up to this time the front of the church faced on the Via del Pellegrino, and, according to De Rossi, consisted of a douhle portico and three aisles with two rows of columns. Armellini adds, 'ma ciò che rendeva caratteristica e degna di rilevanza la distribuzione architettonica interiore dell' aula, era la posizione della nave così-detta trasversa, la quale non correva innanzi all' abside, come in tutte le altre hasiliche, ma dietro alla medesima a modo di portico, cosicchè tutto l'edifizio era cinto ed abbracciato da portici.' This construction is described hy Pope Damasus in his verses on the church, the text of which has come down to us. Bramante's work of the fifteenth century was finally restored hy Valadier in the nineteenth (Armellini, p. 312; Marucchi, p. 419; Nibhy, p. 291).

he mad it, sum*m*e meu clepe him a no*þir* name and so he hith damascus but þis may not be drawe in no colour̃ to namy*n*g of þis cherch. The glose[1] up ou ysai up on þis text Omis damasci seith þat in þis same place where þe cite of damasc stant cayn killid abel his bro*þ*ir, and as seynt gregori seith eu*er*y wikkid ma*n* may be clepid cayn and eu*er*y good man þat sufferith paciently p*er*secucion abel. Wherfor þis tyrau*n*t deci*us* was lich a no*þ*ir cayn and þis martir laure*n*s lich a no*þ*ir abel but whe*þ*ir þat seynt laure*n*s suffered ony torme*n*tri in þis place or uowt I am in doute. If he ded þan myth it be called þe place where cayn killid his bro*þ*ir. But a nyher euydens may we make of þis place. For damascus is as mech for to sey as a blodi feld now þis cherch stant ny in þe most multitude of houses and dwelleres of rome. It is for to suppose uerily þat many a martir was killid in þat place be cause it was ny þe puple þat þei schuld be mor̃ a ferd to receyue cristen feith þ*er*for was it called þe blodi feld whech in surry tong sou*n*dith damascus. A mong*is* all̃ o*þ*ir sei*n*tis whech restyn in þis cherch þ*er*e lith an holy pope* cleped damasus for þat ma*n* sum sey it schuld be cleped laurencii in damaso not in damasco as þei clepe þe cherch of balbyne saluatoris i*n* balbina for þe cherch is of þe saluator crist and þis mayde balbyne lith þ*er*e þerfor þei clepid it soo. This damasus þe pope ded mech þing / in þe cherch aftir tyme þat he was pope. First soute he c*er*teyn f. 400 r
seyntis and translate hem and mad uers up on her̃ graues for he was a grete uercyfiour̃. He ordeyned eke at instau*n*s of seynt ierom þat psalmes schuld be songe both nyth and day. And þese too uers at þe psalmes endes wrote seynt ierom on to him desiryng of him þat all̃ þe cherch schuld be bou*n*de to þe same obs*er*uau*n*s, glo*r*ia patri &c*ra*.[2]

[1] gloss, or commentary.

[2] S. Damasus I, a Spaniard hy descent and a Roman hy hirth, was horn about the year 306, and was appointed Archdeacon of the Roman Church in 355. He followed his predecessor Liberius into exile, but soon returned to Rome, and on the death of Liberius was elected to succeed him in October, 366. The opposition party, who held to the emperor, elected the Deacon Ursinus (Ursicinus) as antipope; a struggle took place, which led to bloodshed. Eventually Ursinus was hanished from Rome to Gallia. S. Damasus worked hard to restore union to the Church, which was then much divided on account of the Arian and other heresies. Councils were held in Rome in 368 and 370, and he was present at the great Council of Constantinople in 381. He did much for the heautifying of Rome; he huilt some churches, restored others, and decorated many of the tomhs of the martyrs. His finely-lettered inscriptions are still universally admired. He was a friend of S. Jerome, and asked him to revise the Vulgate. As our chronicler says, he ordered that psalms should he sung morning and evening in daily prayer; also that at the end of each psalm the doxology, *Gloria patri*, &c., should be sung. He died on Dec. 10, 384, aged 80; his remains were found in 1639 in a church huilt hy him on the Via Ardeatina; they were placed under an altar in the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso in 1645. Two editions of his works (in 1638 and 1754) have been published (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*).

Off þe stacio*n* at sei*n*t paules cap̄ xxxui.

Wednysday in þe same weke is þe stacion at þe cherch of seynt paule whech stant with out þe wallis on þe south side of rome of whech we spoke be fore but su*m*me addiciones wil we sette here rith for conformite of þe book. There ly in þis cherch as þei sey þat dwelle þe*re* a þousand of þco i*n*nocentis whech were killid for crist. There lith thimotheus þat was disciple on to paule and titus eke whech was his disciple alsoo. These to men receyued notable epistelis fro seynt paule and hem both mad he bischoppis on of hem in asie þe oþir in enrope as seith þe glose up on þe same episteles. Ther̄ lith eke iu þis cherch sei*n*t maur*us* seynt appr*o*niane and seynt archemie felix eke þe martir þat blew down many mawme*n*tis. Audact*us* þe martir simplicius þe martir faustin*us* beatrix lncia geminianus ciriacus largus & smaragdus and many oþir of whech it wer̄ al to longe to write here þe passiones.[1] There is þe hed of seynt ananie whech baptized seynt paule in þe cite of damasc. The hed of seynt steuene þe first martir, þe arme of sei*n*t anne modir to our̄ lady, þe arme of sei*n*t nicholas bischop of bare, þe arme of þe woma*n* samaritane þat ȝaue crist drynk at þe welle. There stant also a pile*r* whech stood in pilates hous on whech stood lith what tyme crist was bete þe*re* su*m*me sey þat crist was bou*n*d on to þe same. In þis same cherch lith seynt pla[2] whech lent paule a cloth whan he schuld be ded. And be cause þat story longith directly to þe apostel paule for þat cause wil we reherse it her̄. Whan paule was conde*m*pned to þe deth he was led forth in to þe feld out of rome for þe place where his hed was smet of is out of rome iii myle. In þe gate of rome whech is cleped porta capena or ellis porta sc̄i pauli þis woman plautille whech was lerned be him in þe lawe of god met þe*re* with him. Sche wept ful sore tok hir leue and comendid hir to his prayeres. Paule saide on to hir. Fare wel plautill doutyr of euer-

[1] Of this long list of saints whose relics are to be found in S. Paul's, S. Timothy suffered martyrdom in Ephesus in the year A.D. 97. His relics were brought to Constantinople in 356, and afterwards a part of them were sent to Rome. S. Titus, his colleague, died in Crete at the advanced age of ninety-four, and was buried at Gortyna. His head is at S. Mark's, Venice, hut his other relics appear to have heen lost. S. Maurus and S. Appronianus will he found mentioned in the *Heiligenlexikon*; the story of Felix and Adauctus is also found in that work. The three saints Simplicius (Simplicianus), Faustinus, and Beatrix suffered in the persecution of Diocletian in 302 or 303, and were buried hy Lucina in the cemetery *ad ursum pileatum* on the road to Porto. At the cemetery near Ponte Galera the name of S. Beatrix can still he seen. S. Lncia was an aged widow, who with S. Geminianus was also martyred under Diocletian about 303. SS. Cyriacus, Largus, and Smaragdus perished in the same persecution; a short account of S. Ananias exists in Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*.

[2] ?plautilla; the rest of the word is cut off.

lastyng helth but of [1] þing I pray þe lende me a kerchi with whech I may hide myn eyne whanñ I schal lese myn hed. Thoo tooĸ sche him a kerchi and he bare it forth with him and whan his hed was smet of he sprad it with his owne handis and gadered þe blood. Aftir þat gadering þe kerchi was sodeynly at rome in plautilł hand. Sche / was a knowe aftirward þat sche f. 400 v say petir and paule who þei came in to rome arayed with cloþis of gold and crownes on heꝛ hedes. Sche schewid eke hem þat were at his deth þe wympil al blody whech was brout hir to rome longe er þei myth com þider.[2]

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Off þe stacion at s̄ martyn *in* montibus. cap̄ xxxuii.

Thursday in þat same weke is þe stacion at a cherch cleped sc̄i martini in montib*us*[3] wheꝛ seynt siluest*er* lith & þ*er*e is his stole his uestm*en*t & his sandalys. In þis cherch lyn eke many oþir seyntis. There be dwellyng at þis place certeyn freres cleped carmelites for heꝛ ordꝛ be gan in þe hiłł cleped carmele whech stant in palestin. This martyn was pope * in þat same tyme þat on paule pat*ri*ark of constantinople sette grete scisme in þe cherch. For he held þat heresie whech puttith but o wil in þe p*er*sone of ouꝛ lord ihū crist. Alle þe testimonies of þe old faderes of þe cherch he refused þe embassiatoures þat were sent fro rome to undirtake him of his grete defautes he despised. Thoo þat weꝛ of þe trew opinion he bet hem p*ri*soned hem

[1] ? o = one.

[2] This heautiful story of S. Plautilla will he found in the *Heiligenlexikon*. She is helieved to have heen a Roman lady of good family, the sister of the Consul Clemens, and the mother of Flavia Domitilla. She died in peace (date uncertain), and her remains are said to rest in the church of SS. Nereo and Achilleo. Some relics of her are at S. Bartholomew (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. v, p. 172; vol. vii, p. 818). The traditional site of the occurrence is shown in Plate III of De Rossi's *Piante iconografiche di Roma*. It is marked with a cross and the words 'ap̄ hanc crucem S. Paulus puta defunctus velum mulieri reddidit'. The cross appears in Plate II, hut not in Plate IV, nor afterwards. In all three (II, III, and IV) a hridge, and a chapel on the hank of a small stream, are shown close hy the site of the cross.

[3] The church of S. Martino ai Monti was constructed in the haths of Trajan, it is said (in the *Liber Pontificalis*), hy S. Sylvester. In early times it was known as the *titulus equitii*, from the name of the owner of the property on which it stood. But it soon took the name of the Pope who dedicated it, and was then called *titulus S. Silvestri*. In it was held the synod against Hippolytus, Callixtus, and Victorinus in the year 324. Pope Symmachus, in the fifth century, erected another huilding over the old Basilica of S. Silvester, and dedicated it to S. Martin, Bishop of Tours, and to S. Silvester. The older church remained huried underground, and was only accidentally discovered in the seventeenth century. The hasilica was restored in the reigns of Hadrian I, Sergius II, and Innocent III. Leo IV decorated it with paintings and mosaics. In the sixteenth century, Cardinal Diomede Caraffa rebuilt it; under Pius IV, S. Carlo Borromeo restored the ceiling. In 1650 the General of the Carmelites, Antonio Filippini, spent his whole patrimony of 70,000 scudi in beautifying the church. The façade was renewed in 1676; finally, Cardinal Zelada again restored the building at great expense (Adinolfi, ii, p. 121; Armellini, p. 459; Marucchi, p. 319; Nihhy, p. 543).

exiled hem so þat many pleintis come to rome fro many sundri parties of þe world þat sum remedy schuld be ordeyned to þis sore. Thoo þis same pope* martyn mad a congregacion at rome of a hundred bischoppis and fyue and þere he condempned þe heresie of þis paule. The emperour whech þat tyme dwelt at constantinople was infecte with þis same heresie and he sent his chetour[1] in to ytaile to make a scisme a geyn martyn þe pope.* This was asaied be many menes but euyr oure lord god was a protectour on to his trew seruaunt for our lord wold not suffer þe hertis of his puple to hate þis man þis holy preste martyn. Tho þis chetoure whech hith olympus turned him to an horible fraude and feyned þat of deuocioun he wold be hoseled of pope* martynes hand and in þis feynyng he had mad comenaunt with him þat bare his swerd þat whech tyme þe pope* was bisi to hosil þis man his seruaunt with his swerd schuld sle þe pope.* But our lord god mad þis 3ong man blynd al þat messe tyme for to lette þat cursed dede as he swore aftir a for þe puple. The helth of rithful men as seith dauid is of our lord and our lord is a protectour of rithful men in tyme of tribulacion. The emperour aftir þis sent down a noþir officer and he took þis pope* and led him in to cersone or ellis tersone an ylde in þe see þere deyid þis man in grete tribulacion for rith of þe cherch. There dede he many myracles for whech þei translate him to rome.[2] The same day is þe stacion at a cherch of seynt siluester wher þat his hed is and eke þe hed of seynt ion baptist and in þis place dwelle cloos nunnes whech haue þe keping of þe baptistes hed.[3] Many

[1] escheator, chamberlain.

[2] S. Martin I was elected Pope July 5, 649; died Sept. 15, 655. Olympius, the chamberlain to the Emperor Constans, was sent to Italy as exarch, and appears to have met with his death in Sicily (Anastasius, *In Vit. Mart.*). The account given here agrees with that of the usually accepted authorities (Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*; Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. i, p. 336; Surius, vol. xi, p. 421).

[3] The church of S. Silvester was originally known as S. Dionysius *inter duos hortos* or *cata Pauli*. The *Liber Pontificalis*, in the life of Paul I (757–67), says that he built the church and monastery in his own house in honour of SS. Sylvester and Stephen I, both of whom were popes, but that he dedicated the church to S. Dionysius. Perhaps the church had been commenced by his brother and predecessor Stephen II, as will be seen from the Acts of SS. Degna and Emerita (Martinelli, *op. cit.*, p. 356). Mallius confirms this in *de Abb.*, c. xxxi. The church was called *inter duos hortos* on account of the gardens in this neighbourhood in the Middle Ages. Considerable remains of antiquities, amongst them some of Mithraic worship, have been found here from time to time; many of them are preserved in the courtyard in front of the church. It is now known as S. Silvestro *in Capite*, because the relic of the head of S. John Baptist is preserved here. In the tenth century the church was a very important one, and was given possession of the Column of Marcus Aurelius, which no doubt helped to save that monument from destruction. Innocent III restored the church in the twelfth century; the campanile is of his date. The church was altered by Clement VIII, restored by Clement XI a century later, and bestowed upon the English Catholics by Leo XIII in 1890 (Armellini, p. 220; Marucchi, p. 395; Nibby, p. 713).

men sey þat þis hed is at amyas[1] and þei must und*ir*stand þ*er*e is no more at amyas but þe nethir chauyl[2] for al þe oþir / part of þe hed is mad of f. 401 r
goldsmytis werk. So ȝe may se uerili þat þe p*r*incipal part of baptistes hed is at rome.

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Of þe stacion at sei*n*t eusebie. cap̄ xxxuiii.

Friday in þat weke is þe stacion at seynt eusebie[3] and þis cherch was þe title of þat honorable fade*r* herry bischop of wynches*ter* þat deyid now late.[4] On to þis cherch is annexid an abbey of mu*n*kys I wot not uerili now of what ordir. To þis cherch þe same cardinal at his deth be set good ornam*en*tis and fay*r* ieweles whech are schewid þ*er*e at þe stacion to grete worchip of englisch men. Off þis eusebie elle þe teld stories of þe cherch þat he was a preest in rome swech tyme as constantine was emp*er*ou*r* not he grete constantine baptized of siluester but his son whech was defiled with þe arrianes heresi and was rebaptized eke of a bischop hith eusebius þe grettest fauto*r* of þat scisme. This same emp*er*ou*r* constantine had so þret þe pope * at þat tyme whech hith liberius þat he was fauourable on to þat heresi. For þis rede we þat at þe comau*n*dm*en*t of þis emp*er*ou*r* þis pope * liberi*us* was sodeynly lift up in a chare and caried oute of þe cite in to an yle whe*r* he was exiled iii ȝere. He þus exiled þe cherch at rome be his consent chosen a new pope * clepid felix whech ma*n* was grete enmy to þe arrianes for a geyn hem he sette a gret cou*n*cel at rome in whech cou*n*cel he reiecte too me*n* fautour*is* on to þe emp*er*ou*r*. On of hem hith ursaci*us* þe oþir hith ualent. And wha*n* þei were þus put oute of þe cou*n*cel þei laboured on to þe emp*er*ou*r* þat he schuld depose þis felix and clepe him liberius a geyn on þat condicion þat he schuld ȝeue fauou*r* to her heresie. Whan he was come a geyn þis liberi*us* he ded as þei desired and ȝaue grete fauou*r* on to hem. At þat tyme þis blessed preest eusebius of whom þis p*r*esent capitule is mad stood up manly and defended þe trew feith euene i*n* þe presens of þis constantine and seid þat he was ful sory þat liberius hed of þe cherch schuld þus falle in to heresie. Consta*n*tine was wroth with

[1] ? Amiens.

[2] jowl. Obs. form.

[3] The church of S. Eusebius is very ancient, having been constructed in the fourth century in the house of the saint; it is mentioned in the fifth century. It was restored by S. Zacharias, Hadrian I, Leo III, and Gregory IV, entirely reconstructed in 1238 under Gregory IX, and again in 1711 and 1750. Gregory XVI abolished the title and transferred it to S. Gregory, but Pius IX restored it (Armellini, p. 232; Marucchi, p. 342; Adinolfi, i, p. 290; Nibby, p. 214).

[4] This was Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who was nominated Cardinal of S. Eusebius, May 24, 1426; received the hat at Calais, March 25, 1427; died April 11, 1447. This last date is important in the chronology of this book.

þe wordis of þis man and comaunded him to be sperd up in his owne hous in a smal corneꝛ whech had in brede no moꝛ þan iiii fete. There continued þis holy man in grete constauns and deuoute prayeres many monthis and in þis tribulacion deyid and went on to oure lord þe xix kalend of septembir. Too deuoute prestes gregorius and orosius took up his body and bore it to þat place cleped cimiterium kalixti and byried it þere. Thei sette eke þis title on his graue. The sepulture of eusebi þe man of god.[1] Whan constantine herd þat þis gregory had byried eusebius body he comaunded þat
f. 401 v he schuld be sperd in þe same uout and dey þere for hungir / but orosius his felaw caried him oute be nyth and counforted him ȝet deyed he with inne fewe dayes and was byried in þe same uout next seynt eusebye.

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Off þe stacion at a cherch clepid nicholaus in carcere. xxxix.

Satirday in þat same weke is þe stacion at a cherch cleped s̄es̄ nicholaus in carcere.[2] It soundith in ouꝛ tunge seynt nicholas in þe prison. For þis prison was mad be juliane apostata for cristeu men & now is it mad a cherch in worchip of seynt nicholas where as þei sey is seint nicholas arme and his pontifical. Theꝛ is eke þe arme of seynt alex and a grete part of seynt fraunceys habite. There lith eke at þe dore al þe body of a gandir whech was worchipid as for a god swech tyme as a gander had wakid þe keperes of þe capitoł whau þe kyng of ynglond had conqwered al saue þe capitol.[3] Be cause þis cherch is dedicate to seynt nycholas sumwhat of his lyf wil we expleite heꝛ. In his childhod he had þat perfeccioun þat he began to fast twyes in þe weke for on wednysday and friday he wold in þe cradiłł soke but onys þus be gan in him þe gret perfeccion of abstinens. Whan his

[1] There are no less than fifty-three saints named S. Eusebius, and the one mentioned by our chronicler appears to be a Roman priest, who was a zealous opponent of Arianism during the reign of the Emperor Constantius. He was imprisoned for seven months in a small cell in his house before he died. He was buried in the Catacombs of S. Callíxtus (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, August, vol. iii, p. 166).

[2] The church of S. Nicola in Carcere was constructed about the sixth century in the Forum Olitorium, over the ancient Temple of Piety, in the district known as *ad elephantum*. It takes its name from a prison, mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.*, vii, c. 36): 'et locus ille eidem consecratus deae C. Quinctio M. Acilio Coss. Templo Pietatis exstructo in illius carceris sede, ubi nunc Marcelli theatrum est.' The remembrance of the theatre lasted, for it is mentioned again in the Life of Hadrian I (*Lib. Pont. in Adr.* v. i): 'deductisque elephanto in carcerem publicum illic coram universo populo examinati sunt.' The church was restored by Felix IV, Boniface IV, Nicholas III, and Alexander VI, and was altered to its present form in 1599 by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (Armellini, p. 475; Marucchi, p. 517; Nibby, p. 557; De Rossi, *Bull. d'Arch. Crist.*, 1873, p. 82.

[3] Muffel, without mentioning the name of the church, says: 'Item daselbst sind die zwen abtgotter die man den gensen gemacht hat die Rom behielten' (erhalten = retten) 'do man eingrub unter dem Capitolium' (p. 54).

frendis wer̃ ded he saued iii maydenes fro þe filth of leccherye ȝeuyng hem grete habundaun*s* of his good wher̃ he fulfilled þe counceH of our̃ lord þat seid to his disciples. But if ȝe forsake al þat ȝe haue ȝe may not be my. In þis dede eke he fled þe most perilous[1] of ueyngloríe whan̄ he wold do it so pryuyly. He was chosen bischop with oute*n* ony symonie. He ministred in his office with oute ony couetise. He halp marineres in perellis of þe see. He multiplied þe whete þat was seld to his parischones. Many oþir þing*is* ded he whech are customable in þis lond to be rehersid both in latyn and in englisch.[2]

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Off þe st*acion* at s̄ petir cā̄ xl.

On þe passion sunday is þe stacion at þe cherch of sei*n*t petir of whech place mech þing was seid be fore but sum þing was left to sette in here. There is a ymage of our̃ lady in a chapeH and it doth many miracles in spec*i*al to hem þat haue þe br*e*nnyng feuyr̃. Mech offeryng is þ*er*too and grete pardon graun*t*ed to aH þat uisite þat place. There is eke a noþir ymage of our̃ lady depeynted on a wal in þe cherch and be cause þei had hange iudas roop be fore her̃ sche stert a wey with indignacioun and sodeynly appered in a bare wal be side and þat wal wher̃ sche was depeynted is bare as neuyr pictur̃ had be þ*er*e.[3] Eke þ*er*e is þe þird ymage of our̃ lady in þe porch as we come in and a iew seyng cristen men do grete reu*er*ens þ*er*to I not with what instrume*n*t he smet it but in uery sikirnesse þe blood ra*n* owt fro þe ymage whech is poyntid on a wal ȝet is þe blod sene both of þe

[1] 'uys' in margin of MS.

[2] S. Nicholas was born at Patara in Lycia, the names of his parents being Epiphanius and Johanna. His uncle was Nicholas, Bishop of Myra; the nephew, after travelling as a pilgrim to Jerusalem and Mount Sion, was also elected bishop of the same place in succession to one Johannes, who held the see between the uncle and the nephew. He was a man of great piety and charity, and performed many miracles. He attended the Council of Nicaea; after that event he travelled to Rome, passing through Bari on the way. He died at Myra on December 6, between 345 and 352. His body was translated to Bari in Apulia in the year 1087. He is generally shown in art with three golden apples in his hand. These refer either to three maidens whom he saved from a life of sin, or to the fact that at the Council of Nicaea he upheld the dogma of the equality of the Three Persons in the Trinity (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; Beatillo, *Historia della vita, dei miracoli, &c. del S. Nicolò di Mira.*

[3] For a similar account of the fresco of our Lady miraculously moving its position when the rope with which Judas had hanged himself was shown to it, see Muffel, p. 20. That this rope was actually preserved at S. Peter's see the following: 'Item in detta chiesa il capresto con che Giuda s'impichò avendo tradito Christo (x̄po)' (Rucellai, *Il Giubileo, &c., Arch. St. Pat.*, 1881, vol. iv, p. 567); and 'Also, nigh unto the altar where the pope consecrateth the emperor, hangeth the cord of Judas Iscariot' (Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, p. 129, Vatican Cod. 4265, xiv cent.).

f. 402 r ymage where it was smet and eke on a mar/bil ston whidir þat it sprang.[1] Ther̃ is a ston up on whech petir wept aftir tyme he had deneyed his maystir. We rede of him þat at eu*er*y tyme whan he remembrid þis negacion euyr wold he wepe wherfor̃ was he fayn euyr to bere a sudary in his bosum. There is a ston alsoo on whech þe emp*er*our̃ of rome schal receyue his crowne. Ther̃ is þe bason in whech pilat wasched his handis. On of yo þirti plates for whech crist was seld is þ*er*e alsoo. At þe qwer̃ dore is þat place whech þei clepe limina ap*ostol*or*um* where ar wr*et*y*n* swech uers. Hic petre diuini tribuebas fercula u*r*bi Sepius hoc loco sacrificans ihū x̄po̅. Hec dom*us* est aquile seu petri p*re*sulis almi.[2] This is þe sentens of þese uers. Here petir

[1] This legend is not quite clear, as there is a slight confusion in the text. Here follows, however, another version: 'Item, vor sanct peters mu*n*ster do is unser lieben frowen Marie der iungfrow e*in* pild gemalt uu*d* eyn verzweiffelter spiler flûchet do der iungfrow maria und warff sie mit eine*m* stein do ist ein wûnderzeiche*n* geschehen das do blût usz dem pild is geflossen und gesprützet uff ein stein als man das zeichen noch sicht uff de*m* stein un*d* ist ein eisen getter daruber gemacht und an der selben stat brach der teûffel dem spiler den hals ab un*d* fürt yn hin mit leib und sele yn die ewigen helle' (*Ein Büchlin*, &c., Strassburg, 1500, p. cii v). Another version of this miraculous fresco in the porch of S. Peter's is from Muffel (p. 19) as follows. The person is said therein to have been a mercenary, who had lost three gulden at play; in his anger he threw a stone at our Lady's breast. The picture shed sixteen drops of blood, still to be seen on the marble floor below, and the author adds: 'ist geschehen do man zalt von Crist gepurt tausent vierhundert & xl jar.' (A few years only before our author wrote his account, and only twelve years before Muffel's work.)

[2] Armellini (p. 562) gives a similar inscription as having been seen in the fourteenth century at S. Prisca, and says: 'Nel decimo quarto secolo tuttora si leggeva nell' architrave della porta di quella chiesa la seguente iscrizione, che Pietro Sabino, autore di quel medesimo secolo, vide incisa *litteris antiquis* (*Codex Marcian. lat.* x. 195, p. 303):

Haec domus est aquilae seu Priscae virginis almae
Quos *lupe*? paule tuo ore vehis domino
Hic petre divini trihnebas fercula verbi
Saepius hocce loco sacrificans domino';

and adds: 'L'epigramma come risulta dallo stile e del medio evo.' De Rossi in the *Sylloge* of Petrus Sahinus gives this inscription, saying: 'N° 165. Supra Ianuam templi S. prisce. In Aventino. Antiquis litteris marmori InCisis. Haec domus est Aquilae &c.'; adding the following note: 'Periit. Unus Sahinus epigramma integrum descripsit. Marinius e schedis Terribilinii dedit mutilum et corruptum, adnotans: "fortasse spectare ad aetatem Callisti III qui aedem S. Priscae instauravit (Mai, l. c. p. 148, 3), cuius est epigramma sequens N° 166. Sed Sabinus testatur carmen incisum esse marmori *litteris antiquis*, saeculi, opinor, noni vel decimi"' (v. 2, cf. Aratorem, *de Actibus Apost.* II, v. 485:

'O Paule rapax dedit hoc benedictio Iacob
Nomen habere tibi; quid iam remanebit in orbe
Quod non ore trahas, postquam solertia Graia
Cessit et invictas in dogmatae vincis Athenas?'

(De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, vol. ii, p. 443.) Whoever put up the inscription in S. Peter's—copying that of S. Prisca, where the Apostle is believed to have preached and baptized—would appear to have left out the second line altogether, not understanding the curious epithet *lupus* as applied to S. Paul. The expression seems also to have astonished Armellini.

of goddis word þou ȝaue ful largely þe mete Oftyn in þis same place þou mad sacrifise to crist. This is þe hous of aquile or of þe hyest bischop petir.

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Off þe stacion of sei*n*t grisogon*us*. caꝑ xli.

The moneday in passion week is þe stacion ouyr tibyr at a cherch dedicat to seyn grisogon*us*.[1] There is þe arme of james þe apostel whech was ȝebedeus son. Of þis grisogon*us* we spoke sumwhat be foꝛ in þe title of seynt anastase. There teld we who he cou*n*fortid hiꝛ with his noble episteles heꝛ wil we telle be what tribulacion he went to heuene. Diocleciane mad him to stand be foꝛ him for he had herd so mech of þis ma*n* þat he wold haue exp*er*iens of his wisdam. Aftir many wordis had be twix hem too of crist and of þe feith diocleciane saide. Take up on þe dignite of a meyhir þat is to sey þat alꝉ þoo men þat are arested i*n* þat ward where þou dwellist schul be undir þi iurisdicion. Take up on þe eke at ouꝛ ȝifte þat worchip þat þou schal be p*r*incipal consul and gouernouꝛ of al þi kynrod. We desire of þe no moꝛ for al þese rewardes but þat þou wilt do worchip and offir to ouꝛ goddis. Grisogonus answerd in þis maner. O god in heuene with my mynde I worchip and with clene dedis I serue. These fals ymages of ȝouꝛ goddis whech ar not elles but cophres for deueles to dwelꝉ in, I despice and forsake for euyr. Diocleciane in grete angir comau*n*ded þat he schuld be led to a place cleped ad aquas gradatas þat is to sey in englisch to þe grecyd wateris and þe*re* his hed to be smet of. These greced wat*er*ys ar a pitte fast by seynt georgis whecꝛ a fayre spryng comth sodeynly out of þe grou*n*d and sodey*n*ly entreth a geyn in to þe grou*n*d and þe pitte is so dep þat a mylle hous whech stant be neth is not as hy as þe erde. Othir sey þat þese aque gradate weꝛ ouyr tibyr but þei telle not where. Aftir his hed was smet of þei þrew his body in þe flood but aftirward it was fou*n*de be an holy prest / þei clepe him ȝoilus. He lift up þe body and biried it pryuyly in his hous f. 402 v in a cubicle undir þe grou*n*d. His hed was fou*n*de aftir as fayꝛ and fresch as it was þe houꝛ of his deth. þis hed he ioyned to þe body and euene xxx

[1] The church of S. Crisogono is believed to date from the Constantinian period. It is mentioned in the fifth century; Gregory III in 731 restored the roof, and adorned the walls and the apse with pictures. (For the recent excavations and discovery of frescoes in the subterranean church, cf. Prof. Marucchi's paper on this subject in the *Journal of the B. and A. A. Society*). Giovanni da Crema, Papal Legate to England under Honorius II, was titular cardinal in 1123; he restored the church, as also did Cardinal Scipio Borghese in 1623. Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was titular of S. Crisogono, as was Cardinal Gioacchino Pecci when he was elected Pope, taking the name of Leo XIII (Armellini, p. 202; Marucchi, p. 452; Nibby, p. 190).

days aftir grisogouus deth þis same prest ȝoilus as for a special reward receyued deth of his bodi aud eterne lif of his soule.[1] [2]

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Off þe stacion at seint ciriac. cap̄ xlii.

Tewisday is þe stacyou at a cherch of seynt cyriac fast by þe batthes of diocleciane a litil chapel it is and ful desolat neuyr open in þe ȝer but þat day as I suppose.[3] ȝet is þis place a title of a cardinal whech is on of þoo uii þat longyn to seynt mari maior. This ciriacus was a dekue with seynt marcell þe pope* whom dioclecian with mauy oþir cristen uien dampned on to þe deth and prolougid her lyf on þis condicion þat þei schuld dig sond aud bere it on her bakkys on to þat same placc where his bathis weꝛ in makyng. A mongis þese laboureres was an eld cristen man cleped saturnyn whech myth not labouꝛ. This same ciriac of grete charite halp þe eld man and bare þe birdenes of þat man and his owne eke. And þis labouꝛ performed he with gret ioye syngiug deucute ympuys and holy psalmes swech as þe cherch used at þoo dayes. The meyhir of rome whech was at þat tyme sent a knyt cleped approuyan to arest þese men and bryng hem to his consistory. Whau he had a rested hem and schuld lede hem forth he herd a loude uoys in þe eyr cryiug swech wordis. Come ȝe blessed meu of my fadeꝛ and receyue þat kyngdam whech was be hote ȝou fro þe begynnyng of þe world. For þis cry was þis same approuiaue conuerted on to þe feith baptized & not long aftir

[1] The life of S. Chrysogonus, as generally accepted, differs entirely from tbat given by our chronicler. He is generally associated with S. Zoilus, and they were martyred in Aquileia in North Italy, during the persecution of Diocletian. The *Mart. Rom.* (in which only S. Chrysogonus is mentioned) says that after a long imprisonment in Rome he was taken to Aquileia, beheaded there, and his body cast into the sea. The fishes bare his body to land, so that it could receive Christian burial. His head is preserved in the church dedicated to him in Rome; his body, however, is at Venice. There is no mention of S. Anastasia or of the *aquae gradatae* in Stadler. Anotber anthority places them near Aquileia, probably on the road to Grado (*Heiligenlexikon*; Bertoli, *Antichità di Aquileia*, pp. 9–11).

[2] S. Zoilus was a priest in Aquileia, who buried S. Chrysogonus in bis own house, after the martyrdom of the saint. It is stated that when he laid the decapitated head with the trunk, they were miraculously joined together again. He suffered in Aquileia, and his relics are still venerated there (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*).

[3] The site of S. Ciriaco was discovered in 1874, in some excavations which were carried out between the Ministry of Finance and the Female Orphan Asylum of the Termini. It consisted formerly of a church and a monastery, dates from the time of S. Marcellus, was restored under Hadrian I, Leo II, and Gregory IV, but was for some unknown reason abandoned and fell to ruin in the sixteenth centnry. Lonigi says that the church had fallen in his time. 'Giace hora quasi distrutta dentro la vigna dei padri di S. Maria degli Angeli' (Adinolfi, ii, 264; Armellini, p. 189). '¶. Zu unser liebeu frowen inviolata dye kirch heist ouch zum Sant Ciriaco' (*Ein Büchlin*, &c., Strassburg, 1500, p. E vi, B.M.); and on p. F ii we find: 'Zů sant ciriaco lygt by dem pallast den man nennet Tbermes die kirch ist zergangen.'

ded for þe confession of oure lord crist. In þoo same dayes þe doutyr of diocleciane archemia was vexid with a wikkid spirit whech spirit cried with inne hire horribily. But if cyryac come hedyr ellis wil I not go oute. Ciriac was sent aftir and whan he was come he comaunded þe deuele be þe uertu of þe passioun of oure lord ihū þat he schuld uoide þat place and seke a new hostage. The deuele answerd him ageyn and saide. If þou put me oute of þis body assygne a new place where I schal dwelle. Ciriac saide on to him. Lo here is my body enter þerin if þou may. The deuel said a gayn. Thi body is so crouchid[1] and so blessid þat þere may I not come. But of o þing I warne þe. If þou putte me oute fro þis mayde here, I schal cause þe to seke me at babilon. Tho he comaunded him to uoide and he a uoided so was þe mayde hool and aftir baptized iu þe name of crist. But whan þis ciriac wened to a dwelled pesibily in his hous in contemplacion as he desired sodeynly came a messagere fro / þe kyng of perse on to diocleciane praying f. 403 r
him to send him cyriac whech cured his douter for as he wrote his welbeloued doutir cleped iobiane was obcessid with a deuele whech deuele cried with inne hire þat he wold neuyr uoid but if þis ciriac came. Than at þe prayer of diocleciane cyriac was sette in a schip and sailed in to perse and so forth caried to babylone. Whan þe mayde was brout on his presens þe deuele with inne hire cried loude. I haue mad þe wery ciriac. And þis holy mau answerd. I am uot wery but euer redi to obeye þe gouernauns of god. ȝet quod þe deuel haue I brout þe where I desired þou schuld be. Ciriac saide on to him. Mi lord ihū crist comaundeth þe þat þou leue þis maide. The deuele cried. O dredful name þat þus constreyneth me to goo. And with þat word he went out and left þe mayden hool. Tho ciriac baptized þe kyng and þe qwen and here doutir with many mo. He refused þe ȝiftis þat þe kyng profered him and cam hom a geyn to rome. Sone aftir his comyng deyid þis dioclecian, maximiau his son was emperour aftir him whech killid his sistir archemie be was[2] sche was cristen. Tho called he ciriac & mad for to be drawe naked bounde with chenes a grete weye rith be fore his chare. Tho he hing him with his felawis largus and smaragdus and pored hoot pik on here hedis. Last of alle he comaunded hem to be hedid.[3]

[1] crutched, from *crux*. Hence the term Crutched Friars. [2] ? cause.

[3] S. Cyriacus is said to have suffered martyrdom in Rome about the year 303, in the persecution of Diocletian, together with SS. Largus, Smaragdus, and twenty other Christians. He worked many miracles; as related by our chronicler, he is said to have delivered Arthemia (Artemia), the daughter of Diocletian, of an evil spirit. He was then sent to Sapor, King of Persia, whose daughter Jobia was similarly afflicted. The result of the miracle in delivering the latter is said to have been that the king was baptized with 430 others, and that when S. Cyriacus returned to Rome he was barbarously tortured and martyred by order of Maximian. All this, however, is disputed, and the Bollandists point out that the name of the daughter of Diocletian was Valeria and not Arthemia.

Of þe stacion at seynt marcełł. caꝑ xliii.

Wednysday folowing is þe stacion at a cherch of seint marcełł fast by þe columpne where þat same marcełł lith and þe hedes of cosmas and damianus.[1] There lith eke þe noble emperouꝛ focas þat gaf leue to bonefas þe pope * þat þe grete temple of fals goddis schuld be consecrat to alł seyntis.[2] This cherch stant by a grete memorial of rome whech is cleped columpna. Columpna is as mech to sey as a pileꝛ for in þis pileꝛ whech is a gret hy þing and round mad of dyuers stones was grauyn and ȝit it apperith mech þerof alł þe stories of þe batail of troye. This pileꝛ is of swech fame þere þat on of þe grete kynrodis of rome haue her name þerof and comounly on of þe cardinales is of þis kynrod he þat is now den of þe cardinalis hith prosper de columpnis. And pope martyn eke was of þis kynrod. Eke a noþir worthi man of ordir of hermytes of seynt austin a notabil clerk as skole men know wel I now whech þei clepid egidius he was of þis kynrod.[3] But of þis marcełł wil we telle sum what be cause þis cherch is dedicat to his name. This marcellus was pope of rome in time of maxencius and for be cause he halowid a cherch

Baronius also in his *Annals* says that there was no Sapor, King of Persia, during the reign of Diocletian. It is generally accepted that S. Cyriacus suffered martyrdom under Maximian (286–305 and 306–10), and that he was a deacon under S. Marcellus (308–9), so his and his companions' martyrdom probably occurred about 309, and not in 303. They were buried on the Via Salaria near the gardens of Sallust, and afterwards were removed to a cemetery on the Via Ostiensis (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, August, vol. ii, p. 327).

[1] The title of S. Marcello is very ancient, as it was founded in the fifth century. It was enriched by Leo III, Hadrian I, and Gregory IV; and the body of S. Marcellus, which was translated there in the ninth century, was found there in the restoration of 1869. Up to 1519 the orientation of the church was in the opposite direction to the present line; the alteration was made in that year by Sansovino (Adinolfi, ii, p. 277; Armellini, p. 324; Marucchi, p. 394; Nibby, p. 316).

[2] 'Ouch is hie dat henfft van sijnt Foco des keysers' (Ritter A. von Harff, *Pilgerfahrt in den Jahren 1496–9*, p. 27 (Cöln, 1860). There are several saints named Phocas, who, of course, have no connexion with the emperor of that name. The relic here mentioned is either that of S. Phocas the gardener-saint of Sinope (not to be confused with S. Phocas, Bishop of Sinope), or of S. Phocas who was martyred at Antioch. There was formerly a church dedicated to the former not far from the Tre Fontane, but it has disappeared (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*).

[3] As regards the members of the Colonna family mentioned in the chronicle, the following notes may be of interest. At the election of Nicholas V, Prospero Colonna was beaten by only one vote, according to a letter from Fra Cruelles, Prior of the Catalan Monastery of S. Lorens del Mont (*Mélanges archéol.* vol. xxiii, p. 419). Prospero Colonna was made Cardinal of S. George in 1426, and died in 1463. Oddo Colonna was elected Pope as Martin V in 1417, and died in 1431. Egidio Colonna was a well-known writer in his day. Cf. *Intorno ad una enciclopedia sconosciuta di Egidio Colonna ed al plagio fattone dall' inglese Bartolomeo Glanville.* Rendiconti della R. Acc. dei Liucei, serie iv, Classe di sc. morali, l. 2. 18 Geun. 1885. Cod. Q. 5, Bibl. Angelica; Tille, A. *Eine mittelniederdeutsche Übersetzung des Tractatus de Regimine Principum* von Egidius Romanus (*Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, lvii. 3, 1901).

in worchip of our lady whech was a dwelling place of a blessid woman clepid lucyna whech cherch is called scā maria in uia lata þat is to sey seint mari in þe brood stre/te and for þat cause þe forseid maxencius þat he had turned f. 403 v
þis womannes hous to a cherch he ded make of þat cherch a comoun stabil and condempned þe same pope for to serue bestes þere al his lyue. In þis same place he deyid and was biried in þe cimiterie clepid priscille.[1] This pope marcelle ordeyned xu cardinales in rome only to baptize men and to birie hem. So semeth it þat cardinales at þat tyme were not of swech dignyte as þei be now for þei were þann ordeyned as for curates for þis same pope * was be fore siluester and on to þat tyme þat siluester cam þe officeres of þe cherch were not endewid in swech dignite as þei be now. And be cause þat þis man was þe first þat ordeyned cardinales and before þis man we rede not of þis name þerfor if þe rederes wil consent I wil declare here þe noumbir of þe cardinales þe dignite þe office and eke þe titles. Al þis wil I drawe oute of martynes cronicle euene be ordre as he seith. Thus writith he þat euene as our lord in heuene hath iii ierarchies of aungellis ordeyned to his seruyse so þe pope whech is cristis uikeꝛ iu erde hath iii ierarchies of cardinalis ordeyned to his ministracion. The first ierarchie is of cardinal bischopis. The secunde of cardinal prestis. The þird of cardinal deknes. Cardinal bischoppis are þere uii cardinal prestis xxuiii cardinal deknes xui. The uii cardinal bischoppis aꝛ þese. The bischop of hostie whech is worthiest of all for be his handis þe pope neUly chosin receyuyth his consecracion. The bischop portuense is þe secund. The bischop albanensis þe þird. The bischop sabinensis is þe fourt. The bischop prenestine þe u. The bischop scē ruffine is þe ui. The bischop tusculane þe uii. | These uii be þe popes * uikeris for to serue him at þe auter in þe cherch cleped lateranensis on sundays and on grete festis. ¶. Cardinal prestis be þere xxuiii distincte on to oþir iiii cherches to euery cherch uii. | These be þe uii intitled to þe cherch of seynt petir. The cardinal of seynt mary transtiberim. The cardinal of seynt grisogonus in þe same place. The cardinal of seyn cecili in þe same transtiberim. The cardinal of seynt

[1] S. Marcellus was Pope from 308 to 309 (or 310), and succeeded S. Marcellinus. Owing to the similarity of the names there is some confusion in regard to these two popes and the dates concerning them. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, the Holy See was about this time vacant for seven years; according to other authorities, from three to three and a half years. S. Marcellus was a Roman by birth, the son of Benedictus, and lived in the Via Lata. He founded the Catacombs of Priscilla on the Via Salaria, and created twenty-five new *tituli* or Christian parish churches. He became a Christian about the time of the Emperors Galerius, Maximian, and Constantius Chlorus. He was savagely flogged and expelled from the city. This is proved by his epitaph. He appears to have returned shortly afterwards, and to have been condemned to labour in the public stables, where he died. He was buried in the cemetery of Priscilla (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, January, vol. ii, p. 3; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. i, p. 164).

anastase. The cardinal of seynt lauı ens in damasco. The cardinal of seynt marc. The cardiual of seynt martyn *in* montib*us*. | These be þe uii þat serue to seyn paules cherch. The cardiuale of sei*n*t sabine. The cardinal of seynt prisce. The cardinal of sei*n*t balbine. The cardinal of þoo seyntis nerei & achillei. The cardinal of sei*n*t sixte. The cardinal of sei*n*t marcelle. The cardinal of seint susanne. | These be þe uii cardinal p*re*stes þat serue at sei*n*t laure*n*s. The cardinal of sei*n*t praxed. The cardinal of sei*n*t petir ad uincula. The cardinal of sei*n*t laure*n*s in lucina. The cardinal of seynt cruces at ierlm̄. The cardinal of sei*n*t steuene in celio monte. The cardinal of jon and paule. The cardinal of quatuor coronator*um*. | These be þe
f. 404 r uii cardinal þat serue at sei*n*t / mari maior. The cardinal of þe cherch dedicat to þe xii apostles. The cardinal of sei*n*t ciriac in þe bathis. The cardinal of sei*n*t euseby. The cardinal of seynt potencian. The cardinal of sei*n*t uitale. The cardinal of marcellini and petri. The cardinal of sei*n*t clement. | These be þe cardinal deknes ordeyned to þe mi*n*isteri of ou*r* fader þe pope * in nou*m*bir þ*er*e be xui. The cardinal of þe cherch of ou*r* lady called *in* do*m*nica or ellis in nauicellis he is þe first and archdekne of his felawis. The cardinale of seynt lucie whech stant in þe gret paleis fast bi septisoliu*m*. The cardinal of seynt mari noue. The cardinal of cosme and damiani. The cardinal of seynt adriane. The cardinal of seynt george. The cardinal of sei*n*t mary by þe grek skole. The cardiual of sei*n*t mari in porticu. The cardinal of seynt nicholas in carc*er*e. The cardinal of seynt au*n*gel. The cardinal of seyn eustas. The cardinal of seynt mari iu aquario. The cardinal of sei*n*t mari in uialata. The cardinal of sei*n*t agas. The cardinal of sei*n*t lucie whech is cleped in capnt snburre. The cardinal of sei*n*t qwirit.

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## Off þe stacion at s̄ appollinar̄. xliiii.

Thursday in passion weke is þe stacion at a cherch cleped sei*n*t appollinar̄.[1] This same was disciple on to seynt petir and whan his maystir had lerned him þe lawe of god he sent him to rauen*n*e to p*re*che þ*er*e þe cristen feith. Whan he was come to rauen*n*e he holid a grete lordis wif of greuous seknesse and aftir baptised both hir and hir hnsbond. The iuge of þe cite heri*n*g þis sent aftir him and co*m*pelled him to offir to þe goddis but he wold not consent for he saide on to þe iuge þat it had be mech bettir þat gold and þat siluyr whech hing be fore þe goddis to spe*n*d it in clothis in mete and in

[1] The church of S. Apollinare was constructed near the Stadium of Severus, and is known to have existed under Hadrian I. It was called *de Archipresbyteratu*. The present church is an entire reconstruction of Benedict XIV (Armellini, p. 136; Marucchi, p. 501; Nibby, p. 106).

drynk for sustenaun*s* of pore men. Tho comaun*ded* þe iuge to his min*is*tris þat for þis blaspheme a geyn heꝛ goddis þei schuld bete him with battis as long as þei foun*de* in him ony lif. So half ded half ou lyue þei left hi*m* his disciples cam þan and caried him to a woma*n*nes hous þt was cristen þe*re* with inne ui monthes he was mad hool. Than we*nt* he to a cite þei clepe classens*is* wheꝛ he cured a noble ma*n* whech myth not speke and a ȝong mayden he delyu*er*ed fro a wikkid spirit whech was with inne hir. For þese myracles þe*re* weꝛ turned on to þe feith of ouꝛ lord crist mo þan u hundred men wherfor þe payuemes bete him with grete battis forbedyng him þat he schuld not reherse þe uame of ihū. He for febilnesse lying on þe erde rehersid euyr þe more þe blessed name ihū. Tho mad þei him to go with bare feet up on bre*n*na*n*d coles where he pr*e*chid with grete constaun*s* þe uame aud þe uertu of ouꝛ lord ihū. Than banched þei him þat cite. Iu þat tyme þe duke / of rauenne had a doutyr greuously seek he sent for apollinare f. 404 v
þat he schuld cure his doutyr and at þe first entre of þe seynt þe doutir was ded. Than saide þe duk. I wold þou had neuyr entred my*n* hous for at þi comy*n*g þe grete goddis ar wroth with me þerfor is my doutyr ded. Appollinaꝛ answerd on to þe duk. Drede þe not but o þing graun*t* me þat if þi doutyr lyue þou schalt not let hiꝛ to serue him þat mad hir. Aftir þe faderis graun*t* þe mayde roos up heyl and soun*d* with outen ony maledye. The emp*er*ouꝛ of rome herd of þese meruelous werkis whech were wrout be appollinaꝛ comaun*ded* his officeres þat þei schuld compelle him to do sacrifise on to here goddis or ellis þei schuld banych him þe cuutre. Aftir many passiones and tribulacioues þis holi man was coun*c*elled of cristen men for reformacioun of his helth to dwelle for a tyme a mong*is* myselles[1] wheꝛ he was aspied and neuly so betyn þat with inne uii dayes he sent his soule to his makeꝛ.[2]

[1] The meaning of this word is obscure. One possible derivation is from *miselli*, poor, miserable folk, from which our word *measly* comes; the same word *misellis* occurs in Capgrave's *Life of S. Gilbert of Sempringham*, E. E. Text Society, No. 140 of 1910, ch. iv, p. 67, l. 31; the meaning given in the glossary of that work is 'lepers'. (In the Middle Ages this term 'measly' was synonymous with lepers.) The difficulty arises: would his friends have counselled him to dwell for a term with people of this description, 'for reformation of his health'? There is a French word *musel*, which means one who muses, a contemplative person, which term would readily apply to hermits. Again, S. Apollinaris is believed to have visited Burgundy at some time or other, and therefore may have lived at Mussy-l'Évêque in that province. After he left Classis, however, he went to Dalmatia, and thence returned to Classis only to be martyred there. The word Moslim or Mussulmen is out of the question, as it is not found so early; in fact, our chronicler always uses the word 'Sarsines', or Saracens. One possible explanation is suggested in the following note.

[2] S. Apollinaris was the first Bishop of Ravenna, where he was sent by S. Peter to preach the Gospel. As he came from Antioch to Rome with the Apostle in the reign of the Emperor Claudius he is believed by some to be by birth a citizen of Antioch, and to have been one of the disciples. The Bollandists fix the date of his mission to Ravenna

Off þe stacion at seint steuene in celio monte. capꝫ xlu.

Friday in passion weke is þe stacion at a cherch of seynt steuene whech stant in a hiłł þei clepe there mons celius.[1] This hiłł was famous be fore crist for a grete conqwerour cleped tullius hostilius dwelt þeꝛ and a famouse poete alsoo had his dwellyng þere. On þis hiłł sted a temple consecrat to swech goddis as þe poetes clepe faunes. But seynt ierom and oþir cristen clerkis writin þat þere be certeyn spiritis whech apperen sumtyme in forme of men sumtyme in oþir forme and mad certeyn toknes be whech toknes men knew þingis þat schuld falle aftirward. And þei þat appered þus and spoke not were cleped faunes. Oþir weꝛ þere and spoken half hors half men as a man may rede be þe auctorite of seynt ierom in þe lif of seynt antonie wheꝛ he seith þat on of hem was taken in constantines tyme and brout qwik to grete alisaundr where al þe puple sey him. Tho deyed he and was salted and caried on to antioche þat þe emperouꝛ myth se him. But now to purpos. This temple sumtyme dedicat to þese faunes is now consecrat in worchip of seynt steuene and þis was þe cause as I suppose for he had be fore no special place in rome dedicate to him ferþer moꝛ I haue red in summe cronicles þat seynt sebastian distroyed þe fals maumentes þat stood in þat temple and aftir þe grete persecucion of diocleciane & maximiane whan þei weꝛ ded cristen men halowid þis temple to seynt steuene. This same seint is worþi

as occurring in the year A.D. 46. S. Peter Chrosologus (Chrysostom), Bishop of Ravenna, says (*Serm.* 128) that S. Apollinaris had on several occasions shed his blood for the faith, and had desired nothing so much as to die for it, but that our Lord had kept him long in the service of the Church, and had not permitted him to be condemned to death by his persecutors. From this many say that he never suffered martyrdom, but the *Mart. Rom.* calls him martyr, and fixes the date of his death as July 23, A.D. 75, in the reign of the Emperor Vespasian. S. Apollinaris preached in many lands: in Lombardy, in Moesia, in Thrace, and on the Danube. His travels in Moesia may possibly have given rise to the word 'myselles' (see preceding note) (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, July, vol. v, p. 328).

[1] S. Stephen *in Celio Monte* is the church on the Caelian now known as S. Stephen the Round. But the latter name (up to the twelfth century) was given to the small round church (Temple of Vesta) near the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin on the banks of the Tiber, which was first dedicated to S. Stephen, and afterwards to S. Maria del Sole. The codex of Turin, that of Camerarius, as well as that of Signorili, all agree on this point; when the church was visited by Alexander VII, we read: 'ecclesia S. Stephani rotundi supra flumen.' But after the name was changed, the term *rotundus* was applied to the church on the Caelian. The date of the construction of the latter is the subject of some controversy. It is said to have been built by Pope Simplicius in the fifth century. Armellini does not agree with those who believe the building to be originally pagan, but is of opinion that it is a Christian work, both in plan and construction. He quotes Huehsch, *Die altchristlichen Kirchen*, pp. 36–7, in favour of this view, to which De Rossi in *La Basilica di S. Stefano rotondo*, Rome, 1886, also adheres. Marucchi, on the other hand, is inclined to think that it was part of the *macellum magnum* (Adinolfi, i, p. 336; Armellini, p. 631; Marucchi, p. 219; Nibby, p. 727).

ful mech worchip for he was þe first martir þat deyed for crist he cam at it semeth of a ful good stok for he þat fond þe crosse at coartacion of seynt helyn was brobir to seynt steuene. First hith he iudas and whan he was conuerted by þo grete / miracles do be þe crosse seynt helyn mad him to be f. 405 r
cristen, and cleped his name qwiriak.[1] We fynde eke in elde annuales yat he was aftir þat chosen bischop of ierlm̄. We rede eke of seint steuene þat his hed is at cane. For at þe last sege of ierlm̄ a monk cleped odo a normaunt of birth cam fro ierlm̄ to rome & what for letteris of lordis þat he brout what for grete þingis þat he ded he gat seynt steuenes hed and brout it on to cane. This was do þe ȝere of ouꝛ lord as ouꝛ cronicles sey a mł lxxxxui.

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Off þe stacion at s̄ ion portlatin. caꝑ. xlui.

Satirday of palme sunday þe uigil is þe stacion at a cherch dedicate to seint ion euangelist we clepe þe fest jon portlatin, for pere is a gate in rome cleped porta latina and fast by þis gate on þe rith hand is a litil chapel where þat þis ion euangelist was put in a tonne of brennyng oyle.[2] Whi þis gate is cleped porta latina for þat strete goth to a lond whech is cleped þe latyn lond for þere be gan þe latyn tonge. On þe oþir side of þe strete is sette a faiꝛ cherch in worchip of þis same seynt but it is but seldom open for þere be no dwelleres þeron. In þis chapel is an auter and undir þe autere a hole wheꝛ men crepe þorw for grete cause as summe sey þere for as oftyn as a man goth þorw so often he delyueryth sum soule fro purgatory. In þt same place suffered jon þe euangelist his martirdam. He prechid first in asie and þere be cause he wold not cese of preching þe gouernouꝛ undir þe emperouꝛ domiciane put him in prison and sent a lettyr on to þe emperouꝛ whech dwelt þan at rome in whech lettir he informed him þat he had on of

[1] There is some confusion about S. Judas Quiriacus (Cyriacus), Bishop of Jerusalem. He was probably not the S. Cyriacus converted by S. Helena, and said to have been martyred by Julian the Apostate; it is known that there was no bishop of that name in Jerusalem in Julian's time. Some authors therefore make him Bishop of Ancona, where he is now the patron saint of the city. But there was a Bishop Judas—who was killed in a rising of the Jews about the year 133—under the Emperor Hadrian. He possibly assumed the name Quiriacus, on account of the detestation in which his own name was held by Christians. He is mentioned by Theodoricus Pauli as having suffered martyrdom in Hadrian's reign (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. i, p. 439).

[2] S. Giovanni a Porta Latina is a very ancient church, founded by Pope Gelasius I in the fifth century, rebuilt by Hadrian I in 772, and again restored in the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. According to Crescimbeni (*Storia di S. Giovanni a porta Latina*, p. 203 sq.), Leo II attached it to S. John Lateran. From Lucius II to Boniface VIII it belonged to the Benedictines; it was then transferred to the Trinitarians, and now belongs to French Franciscans (Armellini, p. 272; Marucchi, p. 170; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, p. 508; Nibby, p. 269).

þe disciples of crist in prison whech disciple hith jon a man he seid of meruelous conuersacion for a wicch he was as he seid ful of sorsry a defiler of holy places a despiser of þe grete goddis. Domician wrot on to þis president a geyu þat he schuld send him to rome. Thus cam he to rome & prechid iu þe grete halle at laterauensis and for his preching was despised of þe romaues. For first þei mad al þe heꝛ of his hed to be schaue lich a fool þan put þei him in a tunne of brasse ful of boiling oyle whеꝛ he skaped be grete miracle for he went fro þat tormentrie as his lif saith a noynted aud not hurt. This miracle meued so þe emperouꝛ þat he wold not sle him but exiled him iu to pathmos. The romanes as we fynde write were not wroth for þat þe apostoles prechid of crist and of his grete werkis for þei refused no god but receyued alł goddis of alł naciones of alle sectis on to worchip. But þis was cause of heꝛ rebellion a geyn crist for þei had mad a lawe þat no man schuld be receyued as for a god but if it were first approbat a mongis þe senatouris.
f. 405 v And be cause þe apostoles prechid of cristis deite er tyme þat he / was approbat for a god a mongis hem þis was cause of her indignacion. A noþir cause was þere for þei saide[1] was a proud god for he wold be god a lone and receyue nou oþir on to felauchip of his deite. But uow to ouꝛ first purpos. The modir of jon þe euangeliste salome whech was on of þoo women þat folowid crist in his preching herd sey þat hir sou ion was in prison at rome cam to rome for to se him and counforte him. But er sche cam iou was exiled and sent forth to pathmos. Tho went sche in to campanie a cuntre of itayle þeꝛ deyed sche and was biried fast by a cite þei clepe uerulane.[2] Aftir for grete miracles þat sche ded and eke for appering of james hir son whech saide to a holy man in reuelacion þat it was goddis wil his modir schuld ly in moꝛ solempne place sche was lift up and translate to þe cite.[3]

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## Off þe staciou at laterauensis. capꝯ xluii.

On palme sunday is þe stacion at seynt ion laterauensis of whech cherch is seid mech þing be fore and fewe memoriales left to rehers heꝛ. This mech we sey þat it is þe use of cristen men to be gadered at her modir cherch þat day and be þeꝛ in þat solempne procession whech crist exaumpled him selue and be cause þat þis cherch is þe eldest cherch of þe world þerfor is it conuenient þat þis solempne procession schuld be at þe eldest cherch. This procession was first begunne be oure lord and continued be þe apostoles on to þe

[1] 'he' or 'christ' omitted here in MS. [2] Veroli.

[3] Nothing is known of S. Salome, mother of S. John Evangelist and S. James, except that she was one of the pious Galilean women who purchased spices for our Lord's body, and was an eyewitness of His crucifixion and resurrection. It is believed that she died at Jerusalem (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, October, vol. ix, p. 435).

tyme þat þei deyed and so forth be succession of oþir faderes þis good usage is come to us. For seint austin ȝeuith us swech a reule in his book de moribus ecclesie þat alle þoo good usages whech ar worchip to god and encrees[1] whan we can not se hem groundid in scripture we schul suppose þat crist taut hem his apostoles and þei taute hem oþir faderes and so is þe good custome come down to us. I sey not þis for cause þat þis procession is not in scriptur for I wote weel þe gospell telleth full pleyn who crist cam to ierusalem and who þe puple with grete worchip receyued him. But I sey þis þat we fynde not in scriptur þat þe apostoles kept þis procession aftir þe deth of crist in places where þei abod þat tyme of þe ȝere and ȝet is it ful likly þat þei ded so. I may be leue eke þat be cause seynt gregory sette þe seruyse of þe cherch in order þat þis same day at þis same cherch he sang þese newe songis and said þese noble orisones now used in þe cherch and so ordeyned þat þe stacion schuld ȝerly be kept. We rede of o certeyn addicion to þis seruyse mad be a noble man called theodulphus bischop of orgliauns þat he mad þese uers Gloria laus & honor &cr.[2] The cronicle tellith of him þat he was accnsed falsly on to þe emperour lodewyk of certeyn defantes and þe emperour in grete ire comaunded him to prison at angoye. Happed of palme sunday þe emperour to be pre/sent in þat[3] and in pro- f. 406 r
cession to go forby þat same hous in whech þis bischop was in prison. Tho þis bischop loked out at a wyndown and asked silens and þese uers whech he had mad be fore he sang with so grete melodye þat þe emperour meuyd of pite comaunded him to be delyuered fro prison and restored to his dignite.

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## Off þe stacion at seint praxede. cap xluiii.

The moneday aftir palme sunday is þe stacion at seynt praxedis a fair cherch it is and a place of munkis annexid þertoo.[4] This seynt praxede

[1] 'of good' in margin of MS.

[2] Theodulphus, Bishop of Orléans, lived at the end of Charlemagne's reign and the beginning of that of Louis le Débonnaire. He was bishop at the time of the Council of Frankfurt in 794. He was chosen by Charlemagne to sign his will in 811, and by Louis in 816 to receive the Pope, who was coming to crown the emperor at Rheims. The incident mentioned by our author is fully described by Moreri. Theodulphus died about 821 or 822; for Jonas, his successor in the bishopric of Orléans, was sent on a mission to Pope Eugenius II by Louis in 824 (Moreri, *Dictionnaire historique*).

[3] ? city.

[4] The church of S. Prassede is said to have been built on a property belonging to the family of Pudens. The title is first mentioned about the end of the fifth century. It was largely restored in the ninth century by Pascal I, to whom we owe the mosaics. It was also repaired by S. Carlo Borromeo, who was titular of the church, and finally restored in the eighteenth century (Adinolfi, ii, p. 129; Armellini, p. 555; Marucchi, p. 323; Nibby, p. 670).

was sistir to seynt potenciane a rich woman a louer of god a grete refreschẽ of pore men. This cherch was hir halle and in þe myddis was a welle whech welle sche and hir seruauntes filt o day with blood of martires þt were ded for crist.[1] The welł is now closed with a round ston and grated a boute with irun. We rede in þe cronicles þat in þis praxedis cherch ly byried ii mł martires and iiii hundred. This is writyn in þe marbil as we come in at þe dore. There is eke a chapełł on þe rith hand with an autẽ in whech autẽ lyth seint ualeyntyn[2] and undir þe autẽ is a pes of þat pilẽ to whech crist was scorgid. It is a metȝerd of length þe fairest blew marbiłł þat ony man may se. Thẽ sei we in þe sacristie a fayr̃ uernycle whech seynt petir ded make as þe abbot seid to us and kept it al his lyf but whan he deyed he ȝaue it to þis mayde and many oþir þingis. For þere is a grete pees of þe holy crosse mor̃ þan a fote long and ii unch brood and a unch þik in schap of a crosse with his transuersal and his standard. There be eke iii of þoo þornes þt were in cristis hed þei be white of colour̃ and too unch of length. This same day eke is þe stacion at a noþir cherch dedicat to þese seyntes nereus and achilleus.[3] These to men conuerted an holy mayden on to crist whech hith domycelle. This mayde was nes to domician þe emperour̃ and for hir hie kynrod hir beute & hir good aray sche was desired of a ȝong lord cleped aurelian for to be his wif but þese too men þat were hir cubiculeris and baptized of seynt petir stered here lady þat sche schuld no husbond receyue. The preisid on to hir þe grete uertu of uirginite þe grete mede þat longith þerto in heuene. Eke þei told hir of þe grete daungeris in mariage of þe onstedfast loue be twix sum men and

[1] S. Praxedis was daughter of Pudens and sister of S. Pudentiana. She lived a life of piety and charity; caring for the imprisoned and persecuted Christians while they lived, and collecting their remains and burying them when they were dead. She sold all she possessed to give to the poor, and died in peace (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. iv, p. 296).

[2] The S. Valentine here referred to was a priest, who suffered martyrdom in the reign of Claudius (Gothicus). The martyrdom took place in Rome before the Porta Flaminia. For centuries there was a church near the spot dedicated to him, in which his relics were preserved. This church was founded by S. Julius, Pope, and restored by Theodore; in the seventeenth century only a few ruins showed where it had once existed (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, February, vol. ii, p. 751).

[3] The church of SS. Nereus and Achilleus was originally known under the name of the *Titulus Fasciolae*, from a *fasciola*, or bandage, which fell from a wound on the foot of S. Peter during his flight from Rome, after his escape from the Mamertine prison. It is first mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 471, which relates to a priest who was the father of Felix III. The church was restored by Leo III about 800; the mosaics are of his period. At the end of the thirteenth century the church was almost abandoned, and the principal relics were removed by Gregory IX to S. Adriano. About the end of the fifteenth century Sixtus IV repaired it, but it again fell into decay. Finally it was restored by Cardinal Baronio in 1597, and the relics were brought back with great solemnity (Armellini, p. 467; Marucchi, p. 163).

here wiues who þat men in her wowyng þat trete ȝong women in þe best maner aftirward rebuke hem and bete hem in þe werst[1]. Sche answered on to þe suasiones of þese men & seid sche had good mynde þat hir owne fader was ful gelous & þat sche wist hir modir haue ful many an heuy day. In þis pletyng be twix mariage and uirginite sche consentid to þese men both to receyue cristendam and eke to kepe hir bodi clene. / He þat wold a f. 406 v
weddid hir aspied þis and compleyned to þe emperour so be his comaundment þe maide with hir councellouris were exiled on to an yle þei clepe ponciane. Aftir were þei all iii slayn for our lordis cause þe too men lost her hedes þe uirgine was sperd in a hous with oþir maidenes and brent with impetuous fyr.[2]

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Of þe stacion at seint prisce. cam xlix.

Tewisday in palme weke is þe stacion at a cherch dedicate to seint prisca uirgin and martyr. Ther is a place undir þe ground wher seint[3] ofte tyme saide masse & þere is schewid his stolc & his girdil and many oþir relikkis.[4] This mayde was bore in rome doutir to a consul fayr of body fayrer in soule. In claudius tyme þe emperour died sche for confession of þe feith. Whan sche was brout first be for þe emperour he had merueyle of hir beute and swech wordis he seid on to hir. O god appollo grete is þi myth þat can make so fayre a creatur to þe plesauns of man. Thoo he enqwirid of hir religion. Sche saide on to him þat euery day sche mad offering on to hir god with outen spillyng of blood. He undirstood not hir wordis but mad hir to be led in to þe temple of appollo þere to make hir offering. Sche cam to þat

[1] 'gise' in margin of MS.

[2] S. Nereus and Achilleus were servants of Flavia Domitilla, and were baptized by S. Peter together with her, her mother Plautilla, and two maids. The cause of their martyrdom appears to have been their conversion of their mistress, who was betrothed to one Aurelian. She was in the habit of spending much time on her toilet and the care of her person; one day Nereus said to her: 'O Domitilla, how happy wouldst thou be, wert thou to spend as much time in beautifying thyself for thy heavenly bridegroom.' This speech impressed the maid, and eventually she joined the Christian faith, taking vows of lifelong chastity. All three were exiled to Ponza near Terracina, and were martyred there by the Consul Memmius Rufus. Their bodies were brought to Rome by S. Auspicius, and buried on the property of S. Domitilla in the Via Ardentina (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. iii, p. 4; vol. vii, p. 707).

[3] ? peter.

[4] The church of S. Prisca is believed to be on the site of the house of Aquila and Prisca, where S. Peter is said to have preached and baptized. The *Titulus Aquilae et Priscae* is found in the fifth century, and an abbey of Greek monks was attached to it later. The church was consecrated by Pope S. Eutichianus in 280, restored by Hadrian I in 772, and by Callixtus III about 1455. Cardinal Giustiniani repaired it from the designs of Carlo Lombardo of Arezzo; finally, Clement XII altered it to its present form in 1734 (Armellini, p. 560; Nibby, p. 675; Marucchi, p. 180).

place whcre appollo was honowred swech a orison sche mad þ*er*e as it is reported. Ioye be to þe fader of heuene on þe I calle and þe I pray þis place þat is used with mech onclennesse ageyn þi worchip and þi comau*n*dme*n*t þou with þi myty hand distroye þat þe emp*er*ou*r* may know and all þe puple þat we schuld not worchep but only þe. Sone aftir þese wordis we*r* saide a non þe erde schoke many houses of þe cite broke but spec*i*aly þis appollo fell down smal as sond þe þird part eke of his temple fel down with him. Tho comau*n*ded claudi*us* þat þei schuld bete hir. In he*r* betyng sche þankid god. Blessed be þou lord sche saide þat hast ordeyned euyrlastyng mede to hem þat trost in þe. A uois was herd fro heuene in þat same tyme whech saide. Cou*n*fort þe doutir in god for aftir schort peyne folowith long reward. Many tormentryes suffered þis mayden betyn nakid with scorgis rased hir body with hokys and euyr þe next day was sche fou*n*d hool put a mongis wilde bestis and not hurt in þe myddis of a grete fi*r* and not brent. Alle þese tormentries suffered sche with gret paciens. Last of alle sche lost hir heed for cristis loue and wan heuene ioying þere with crist hir lone.[1]

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Off þe stacion at sei*n*t maria maior. cā̄ l.

Wednysday in þat weke is þe stacion at seynt mari maior of whech place we haue spoke mech for we had a special chapet*r* þ*er*of whan we spoke of þe uii p*r*incipal cherchis also on þe wednysday in þe first weke of lenton whan þe stacion was þere. Now for to reherse ony þi*n*g þat is seide be
f. 407 r fore but if[2] hane sum newe circu*m*staun*c*e or su*m* newe / addicion is but ueyn. For þis cause I wil reherse here a short chronicle whech gregori*us* turonensi*s*[3] tellith in worchip of oure lady to þis ende þat eu*er*y w man or woma*n* whech is bysi to edifye ony hous or oratorie to hir worchip doth to hir and to hir son ful grete plesau*n*s. The story is þis. He seyth þat

[1] S. Prisca (Priscilla) was the daughter of a Roman of consular rank, and is the protomartyr of the West. She is believed to have suffered at the early age of 13, during the persecution of Claudius. On her refusing, even after torture, to worship heathen gods, she was taken out to the third milestone of the Via Ostiensis and there beheaded about the year 50. Here she was buried, and her remains were translated to the church named after her by Pope S. Eutichianus (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, January, vol. ii, p. 183).

[2] ? I.

[3] Gregory of Tours was one of the most famous bishops and writers of his day, and flourished in the sixth century. He succeeded Euphronius as bishop in 572 or 574, and was present at the Synod of Paris in 577. He made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he formed a friendship with S. Gregory; he died on Nov. 17, 595. He wrote a history of France in ten books, many other works on the lives of the saints, and some theological commentaries. According to Moreri the best edition of his works was that by Dom Thierri Ruinart, Benedictine, in the year 1699 (*Dictionnaire historique*).

gret constantyn biggid a ful solempne cherch in constantinople in worchep of our lady. The disposicion of þe place asked grete pileres and hye to ber up þe werk. Now was it þe usage þan and so is ȝet at rome þat þei mad no piler in no swech solempne werk but al of o ston. For a man may se þese pileres at þis day too fadum a bout and more and of fifti fete hy or mor and al of o ston. Swech stones had constantyn ordeyned for his costful hous and whan þei were redi to be rered þei mad redy her trises and her pullynes lynes and robynettis but þe pileres myth not be reisid. There was grete care be twix þe werkme so þe maistir of hem a deuoute man of lyf as it is writin prayed on to our lady specialy þat sche schuld send good speed on to þis werk for it was mad in honour of hir. The nyth folowyng sche appered on to him and bad him go on to þe petite skole þere beside oute of þat skole sche bad him chese ~~oute~~[1] iii fauntes[2] for þei thre and he schuld reise up þese pileres with oute ony more help þus sche behite him. The mason ded hir comaundment and all þing came to hande as he wolde. Here may men se þat edificacion of swech houses in erde plesith þe seyntis in heuene and þat may we know be þis tokne whan þei hem selue wil send help þertoo.

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Of þe stacion at seint jon lateranensis. li.

On maunde þursday is þe stacion at seint jon laterancnsis and a grete cause whi for þere is þe bord on whech crist mad his maunde of þis mater þan wil we speke in þis capitle for we haue said be for of þis cherch al þat euyr we can. Crist be fore his passion comaunded too of his disciples petir and jon to go in to ierlm be fore him and ordeyne þere for his soper þat he with his disciples schuld ete þe paschal lomb er he departed fro hem. He sent hem to a man in þe cite whos name þe euangelistis expresse not but oure elde clerkis sei þat he was on of cristis disciples and þis euydens þei make þerfor þat crist bad hem sey þe maistir sent hem þidir. Be þis general message þei sei is undyrstand þat þis man þat held þis hous was on of hem þat beleued in crist. For it was a comon use a mongis his loueres for to sey our maistir was þere or our maystir said soo. This name was singlerly appropriat on to him for he forbade þat non of his discipiles schuld clepe oþir maistir on was her maistir he saide whech is in heuene. The tokne whereby þei schuld know þis man wher crist wold suppe he told hem on þis maner. Whan ȝe come in to / þe cite he seid ȝe schal se a man be f. 407 v
fore ȝou with a uessel of watir in his nek. Folow him and in what hous þat he entreth sey to þe man þat oweth þe hous þat þe maistir wil þat he

[1] 'oute' struck through and interlineated in MS. [2] 'fauntes' = children.

shew 3ou þe place whēr he schal hold his soper. Thus as þei saide þei fond and all þing was arayed as hēr maystir prophecied. It was a ful godly sith to se ouēr lord ihū with his xii come down in to þe cyte. It is to suppose þat summe of þe lxxii disciples were þēr to do seruise on to ouēr lord and to þo xii. For we rede in seynt marciales lif[1] þt þis same marcial was on of þoo disciples whech was þat nyth with ouēr lord in þat same hous and ordeyned for þe soper whech was made þere. We rede þat he hrout all þe watir with whech crist wasched þe aposteles feet whan þe mete was redy. Jon þe euangelist as sum men write cam to ouēr lord for be was most familiar with him and saide on to him. Sēr 3e may suppe whan 3e will. The hord þat þei ete on was not fer fro þe ground as summe men writyn for þei hem self sotyn on þe ground at hēr soper for þis was þe usage iu elde tyme and 3et it is in þe lond of palestin whēr ierusalem standith as many laboured men sey. But who so euyr it be at þis day it was so þanne as we fynde writyn. The bord þat þei ete on was sware mad of dyuers peses & þe mesure of euery sware as honauentuēr de uita xpī seith was too braches and iii fyngeris. A hrache in ytaile is called a mesure with whech þei mete cloth and of ouēr mesure I hald it iii quarteres of a 3erd so þe swares of þis hord on euery side wēr in mesuēr a 3erd and half and a handful saue a unch þat is to sey iii unch. Thus sete þei iii on ech side and ion in cristis lappe and all cte þei of o disch and as we seide be foēr þis same bord is at þis same cherch of whech we speke now.

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Off ye stacion at seynt cruce. caplm̄ lii.

On good friday is þe stacion at seynt crucis where þat a grete partye of þe crosse is schewid and be cause þat in many cuntres of þe world ar schewid peses of þe holy crosse and men haue merueyle who swech a tre schuld extend him selue in to so many partes, eke as grete merueyle haue þei þat þo peses he not lich for summe haue o colouēr and summe haue a noþir, þese doutis of þese men causen me to declare here þis matere. As for þe first I rede in þe lif of seint heleyne þat whan sche had founde þe crosse sche mad certeyn peses to he cut of and þoo hrout sche to rome to hir son with many oþir relikes so þat it semeth þe tre was grete and myth he dyuyded

[1] S. Martial was the first Bishop of Limoges. One version says that he died in the latter half of the third century, and that he was contemporary with the Emperor Decius; this statement is to be found in the history of Gregory of Tours (*Hist.*, i. 28). The account here given of him by our chronicler is open to doubt; the question has given rise to much discussion. The Bollandists leave it open, and say that S. Martial lived either in the first or in the third century (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*; *Acta Sanctorum*, June, vol. v, p. 535).

in to many partes. I rede alsoo in elde bokes þat whan a pese was cut fro þis tree þe tre grewe a gayn on to þe same quantite it was be fore. God our lord hath multiplied so many / dyuers þingis in þis world and it is f. 408 r
lesse merueile þouȝ he werk þe same maner in þat tre whech was instrument of our sauacioun. As touching þe oþir mater of dyuers colouris of þis tre ȝe schal undirstand þat þe crosse was mad of iiii sundry trees þat is to sey palme cedre cipresse and olyue. A uers of elde faderis tyme berith witnesse of þis ligna crucis palma cedrus cipressus oliua. He seith þus þe trees of þe crosse wer palme cedre cipresse and oliue. Whech was þe standard whech þe transuersale or whech þe title is ful hard to know but I wil reherse ȝou myn opinion. The oliue was þe hi tre þat stood up rith and bare al his body. This is þe cause whi þat I suppose so for I rede þat seth schuld a brout þe sed þerof fro paradise and at þe comaundment of þe aungel whech tok it him he sette it on his fader graue whech was adam. I rede eke þat þis tre was hew be salamon to be a bem in þe temple but it wold not acorde. I rede eke þat þe queen of saba whan sche say þis tre sche proficied þerof and seid þat a kyng of þat lond schuld be hanged on þe same tre. Than for þe gretnesse of þe tre be cause ~~he was~~[1] he was ordeyned for a bem I be leue uerily þat þis was þe tre of þe crosse þat stood rith up. Ther was a stok also sctte in þe erde as we rede and in þis stok was a gret morteis in whech þis long tre stood þe more sikir. This stok was of þe cedre as we suppose for þis cause for þe cedre wil neuyr rote þerfor þei sette þat tree in þe ground wenyng þat þe crosse schuld a stande be many agis to bere witnesse þat swech a man for treson was ded at ierusalem. This seid þei and purposed þat hated crist but our lord turned þe mater an oþir wey. For whan þei sei in who grete deynte cristen men had all þoo þingis þat touchid his body a non of pure enuye þei hid hem all. The cipresse for it is swete of sauour was þat tree to whech þoo blessed handis wer nayled. The title a boue in whech was writyn in iii maner langages ihc̄ nazarenus rex iudeorum was mad of þe palme þat haue we red in elde bokes for all uictores wer wone to ber þe palme aftir her uictori and be cause crist had conqwered þan all þe power of helle þerfor þei sette þis tre al a boue in tokne of uictorie. His enmyes sette it not to þat entent but god stered hem to sette it soo þouȝ it wer a geyn her entent. Her haue we expressid þe parties of þe crosse as we myth if ony man haue sey ferþer in þis mater we grucch not þow our sentens be leid be side and bettir be receiued. Of þese four parties of þe crosse spekith þe holi apostil paule ad eph-ȝ, loke ȝe be roted and grounded in charite he seith þat ȝe may comprehende whech is þe length and þe brede þe heith and þe depnesse.

[1] '~~he was~~' struck through and interlineated in MS.

Up on þis seith se*in*t austyn þat cristis hed was sette hie on þe crosse þat
f. 408 v a cristen man schuld eu*er* a mongis aⱡ / oþir þingis haue his hert most spe*ci*aly lift up to heuene. In þe brede of þe crosse whe᷑ cristis handis were nayled is undirstand as he seith þat oure werkis schuld be in þe honou᷑ of crist. The length of þe crosse causeth in us þat euene as þe body of crist had þ*er*e his tormentrie so a cristen man schuld suffir sumwhat for þe lone of god and remission of his synnes. The stok be neþin whech is hid in þe erde maketh ns to be leue þat ou᷑ lord hath do mo᷑ for us þ*an* we can *con*ceyue.

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Of þe stacion at se*in*t ion late*r*ane. cap̄ liii.

Satirday on pas euene is þe stacion at seynt ion late*r*ane and þ*er*e is leid an ymage of crist in a graue and mech oþir þi*n*g doo to þe worchip of cristis sepultu᷑ of whech sepultu᷑ we wil sey sumwhat to edificacion of þe rederes. Aftir tyme þat crist was ded ou᷑ lady and maudelen and hir too sisteris & jon euangelist a bood stiⱡ be þe crosse and þ*er*e abood til knytis ca*m* and broke þe thies of þe too þeues and on to þat tyme þat longi*us* had pnt þe spere on to cristis hert. Aftir þe knytis were goo þei abode stille til ioseph abarimathia & nichodem*us* and oþir mo com with ladderis and oþir instrume*n*tis to take ou᷑ lord down. Joseph took down þe rith hand and nichodem*us* þe lift þus losed þei aⱡ þe body and leid it on þe gron*n*d and þe hed in ou᷑ lady lap and maudelen sat and kissid þe feet. Longe it was or þei coude gete leue of ou᷑ lady for to biry him. But at þe last be instau*n*s of jon sche suffered hi*m* to be byryed. The sepultu᷑ of crist was a ron*n*d hous hewyn in a hiⱡ of ston whech ston was in his ueynes sumwhe᷑ red and su*m*whe᷑ whit. The hous was no hier þan a man myth touch with his ha*n*d. On þe est side was þe entre þerto on þe north side was a graue mad be craft mete for a ma*n*nes body uii fete of length and iii span fro þe pauyme*n*t. This was mad for ioseph and in þis was crist layd. Aftir þat crist was biried ioseph abarimathie desired þat ou᷑ lady schuld go dwelle at his hous but hir con*n*ceⱡ þoute it was to fer fro ierlm̄. Than desired mary mau*n*delen to haue ou᷑ lady on to hir herborow sche alleggid a gret allectyf [1] þat it was þe pr*in*cipal logging of crist. To þis wold not jon consent to whom ou᷑ lady was comended for he seid it was mo᷑ *con*nenie*n*t þat sche schuld be loggid in þe cite for þis canse for þei had told her fre*n*dis before whan þei went to þe crosse þat þei schnld come to þe cite a gayn. Therfor mandelen said ion I hope þou wilt not forsake my modir at þis tyme for we wil go and be loggid with þe same man whe᷑ ou᷑ maistir suppid last. Thus cam þei þorw þe cite and many of here frendis met with hem þei saide þei were fnl sory

[1] allective = allurement, inducement.

þat ihū was so ded ne þei weꝛ neuyr gilty in þe mateꝛ nc neuyr consenting þerto. Thus is crist biried and ouꝛ lady brout on to þis hous where þat / crist had mad his maunde. f. 409 r

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Off þe stacion on pase day. caꝑ liiii.

On pase day is þe stacion at seynt mari maior wheꝛ seint gregori sang on þe same day on whech a gret myracle fel þere for whech myracle þis stacion was sette þere for euyr on þis day. Thus sede we in seint gregori lif þat on pase day he sang messe at þis same cherch and aⱡⱡ þe puple deuoutly herd his messe. So happed it at þe last ende of masse whan he seid pax domini sit semp uobiscum whilis þe qweer was in silens an aungeⱡⱡ with a lowd uoys answerd and said. Et cum spiritu tuo. No wondir þouȝ þis man were deuoute in his writyng whan ouꝛ lord had so grete tendirnesse ouyr him þat he wold send aungeⱡⱡ to do him seruyse. For we rede eke þat a noþir tyme an aungeⱡⱡ ministred at his masse as is treded more largely in þat capitle of seint sebastian. For þis miracle was ordeyned a statute in þat cherch þat if þe pope singe þere þe qwere schal not answeꝛ whan he seith pax domini. And treuly wheþir þei do so euyr or nout I wot not ueryly but þis herd I þat at dyuers masses be note þe qwer saide aⱡⱡ iii agnus dei with misereꝛ nobis and not with dona nobis pacem as we do. Thus haue I descryued on to ȝow þe stacions of lenton for of þoo staciones be foꝛ lenton or of þoo þat are in hestern weke we spoke not for to causes. O cause is for þe staciones in lenton ar more comendid and more used. A noþir cause is for aⱡⱡ þoo cherchis ar stacions in lenton also saue to, on is sc̄a maria rotunda, a noþir is seynt pancras and of þese both wil we speke now in þe þird part.

These be þe capitles of þis secund part be fore. The prologe. Off þe cherch clepid seynt peteres caplm̄ i. Off þe cherch cleped seynt paules caꝑ ii. Off þe cherch of seynt sebastian caꝑ iii. Off þe cherch cleped lateranensis caꝑ iiii. Off þe cherch of seynt cruce caꝑ u. Off þe cherch of seynt laurens caꝑ ui. Off þe cherch cleped maria maior caꝑ uii. Off þe stacion at seynt sabine caꝑ uiii. Off þe stacion at seynt george caꝑ ix. Off þe stacion at jon & paule caꝑ x. Off þe stacion at seynt triphonis caꝑ xi. Off þe stacion at seynt jon lateranensis caꝑ xii. Off þe stacion at seint petir ad uincula caꝑ xiii. Off þe stacion at seint anastase caꝑ xiiii. Off þe stacion at seynt mari maior caꝑ xu. Off þe stacion at seynt laurens panispern caꝑ xui. Off þe stacion at þe xii aposteles caꝑ xuii. Off þe stacion at seynt petir cherch caꝑ xuiii. Off þe stacion at sc̄a maria in dompnica caꝑ xix. Off þe stacion at seynt clementis caꝑ xx. Off þe stacion at seint balbyne caꝑ xxi. Off þe stacion at seint cecile caꝑ xxii. Off þe stacion at sc̄a maria transtiberim caꝑ xxiii. Off þe stacion at seint uitale cam̄ xxiiii. / Off þe stacion at seint marcellin f. 409 v

and petir cap̄ xxu. Off þe stacion at seynt laureus cā xxui. Off þe stacion at seynt mark cā xxuii. Off þe stacion at seynt potenciane cā xxuiii. Off þe stacion at seynt sixte cā xxix. Off þe stacion at seintis cosmas and damianus cā xxx. Off þe stacion at seint laurens in lucina cā xxxi. Off þe stacion at seynt susanne cā xxxii. Off þe stacion in ierusalem at seint cruce cā xxxiii. Off þe stacion at a cherch clepid quatuor coronatorum cap̄ xxxiiii. Off þe stacion of seynt laurens in damasco cā xxxu. Off þe stacion at seynt paules cā xxxui. Off þe stacion at seint martyn in montibus cā xxxuii. Off þe stacion at seynt eusebie cap̄ xxxuiii. Off þe stacion at seynt nicholas in carcere xxxix cā. Off þe stacion at seynt petres cā xl. Off þe stacion at seyut grisogonus cap̄ xli. Off þe stacion at seint ciriac cap̄ xlii. Off þe stacion at seint marcelle cap̄ xliii. Off þe stacion at seynt appollinaꝛ cā xliiii. Off þe stacion at seynt steuene in monte celio cā xlu. Off þe stacion at seynt jon portlatyn cā xlui. Off þe stacion at lateranensis cā xluii. Off þe stacion at seynt praxede cā xluiii. Off þe stacion at seint prisce cā xlix. Off þe stacion at seyn mari maior cap̄ l. Off þe stacion at lateranensis cap̄ li. Off þe stacion at seynt cruce cap̄ lii. Off þe stacion at laterauensis cap̄ liii. Off þe stacion on pase day caplm̄ liiii.

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Here beginnyth þe þird part of oþir cherches in Rome prologus.

Thus fer haue we brout ouꝛ entent yat we haue descryued aⁿ þoo places where staciones be holde in lenton now wil we telle sum notable þiugis of oþir cherches in rome swech as be famous. Ouꝛ purpos was in þe beginnyng of þis werk to a mad but too parties þerof and so it is writyn but þis secund part schuld a be ouyr prolix. Therfor men councelled me of þese oþir cherches whech schul now come in hand to make a special part be him selue so schal þe werk be concluded in a ternarie for þat noumbir is halowid as we sey in ouꝛ diuinite be cause ouꝛ feith prechith on to us thre persones in o godhed. Ouꝛ lord god alsoo hath made his ministres aungelles and sette in swech perfeccion þat þei be distincte in to iii ierarchies and euery ierarchie distincte in to iii ordres. Eke ouꝛ lord hath dyuyded al þis world in to iii parties þat is to sey asie europe and affrik. Al þis is said for þe perfeccioun of þis noumbir iii and mech moꝛ þing myth be seid þerof if meu wolde, specialy if þei wold take counceⁿ of a book whech ysidre mad and it is entitiled de more. The orde in þis werk folowyng schal be þis. First wil we speke of aⁿ þe cherchis of oure lady whech wil com to remeberauns and þanⁿ of oþir cherches whech stand in fame and specialy of hem of whom
f. 410 r we fynde / ony notable wrytyng.

Off scā maria rotunda. caplm̄ i.

There is a cherch in rome whech was clepid sum tyme pantheon now it is clepid scā maria rotunda *~~or ellis scā maria rotunda~~* [1] or elles sca maria ad martires. It is clepid scā maria rotunda for it is a round hous with oute pilēr and þat of so grete widnesse and so grete heith þat it is wondir who þei myth rere it. The sey þēr comounly and I fonde it wrytin þere þat þei mad a grete hiłł of erde as brod and as hy as þei wold haue þe hous and in þis hiłł þei byried mech mony whan þe hous was mad, þei 3oue þe puple leue to cary oute þe erde and for her cariage to take þe mony whech þei fond. In uery sikirnesse I sei a uout mad at rome a ful fayre hous whech is a celēr at seint thomas hospital euene of þis same manēr. It is cleped eke þis cherch scā maria ad martires for it was halowid not only in worchip of ouṟ lady but in worchip of ałł martires. Martires is seid singulerly & non confessouris for þe cherch said not of confessoures þan. There was in rome a pope* clepid boneface þe fourt a blessid man of lyf and grete in reputacion. This man was pope in tyme of focas þe emperouṟ sone aftir seint gregory for aftir gregory was sabinus a 3ere and uiii monthis and þanne bonefacius tercius not fully a 3ere so þat be my counting þis bonefacius iiiius was in þe 3er of our lord ui hundred and u. This boneface prayed þe emperouṟ focas þat he schuld 3eue him þis temple whech was cleped be foṟ pantheon þat is to sei a temple of ałł goddis for pan is as mech to sey as al and theos god or goddis. The principal cause whech meued þe pope* was þis for þe wikkid spiritis þat had receyued grete offeringis þere of þe puple whil þei were in errouṟ sey þe same puple had forsake hem and weṟ turned on to crist of gret malice whech þei haue, hurt þe puple in morownyngis and euenes with meruelous maledies. And be cause þis cherch stant in þe best of rome wher most puple dwellith þerfor þis pope* of grete pite was þe more bisi to seke remedy a geyn þis myschef. So aftir þe emperoures graunt he mad ałł þe maumentis with in þe hous to be broke clensid þe hous of ałł offices þat were with in longing to swech cerymonies as þe hethen puple used. Aftir þis doo he called ałł þe cristen puple of rome and in here presens halowid þe place saide þere a messe and hosild þe most part of þe puple. Tho mad he a constitucion of þe cherch þat þis day fro þis tyme schuld be as holy as cristemasse day and ałł þe puple schuld come and do reuerens to god and too ałł seyntis þat ałł þe necligenses whech falle in / þe long 3ere schuld be f. 410 v
amendid with solempnite of þis fest. Summe croniculeris write þat boneface set þis feest þe xu day of may and on of þe gregories aftirward chaunged it

[1] From * to * struck through and interlineated in MS.

and set it þe first day of nouembir for þis cause. For grete multitude of þe cuntre cam to rome at þis feest and uitaile þat tyme of þe ȝeꝛ was passing scarse wherfor he sette it at þis tyme whan corn and wyn is in moost plente.[1]

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Off ara celi cherch of ouꝛ lady. capꝫ ii.

Off ara celi we spoke be fore in þe first party and told who it was sumtyme octauian chaumbir whech he dismitted fro him and halowid it ou to god. This cherch as þei sey þere is specialy consecrat on to ouꝛ lady be cause þe same emperouꝛ on cristmasse-day saw a uirgin appering in þe sunne and in hir arme a child. This uision of cristis birth whech was schewid to octauian þe day of his birth was nout only schewid in rome but in oþir places of þe world. For as I haue red when þe sterre appered to þe iii kyngis in ynde þere appered with þe sterre a child with a crosse and seid on to hem þat þei schuld seke þe newe kyng born at bethlem. For þe progenie[2] of þese kyngis had ordeyned certeyn men to wayte aftir þis, meuid be a prophete þei called balam whech was in þe tyme of moises. This is seid undir auctorite of strabus in his notes super matheum.[3] We rede also in oþir cronicles þat ieremie þe prophete in þe captiuite of ierlm̃ fled in to egipt where he told to þe kyng of egipt þat whan a mayde bare a child in þe lond of iude aꝉ þe ydoles of egipt schuld faꝉ down and be distroyed. These wordes of ieremye were in so grete auctorite in egipt þat þe prestis of þe temple þere in memphis ded peynt a ymage of a mayde and in hir lap a child and sette it in a pryuy place of þe temple as for a special memorial. Tholome þe grete astronomeꝛ wbech was kyng of egipt aftir a studious man to lerne strannge þingis inqwired of þe prestis what þis ymage ment and he had of hem non oþir answeꝛ but þat þe holy prophete ieremie told swech a þing on to heꝛ elderes and þei be leued neryly it schuld be as he seide. This place þat is þns consecrat in worchip of ouꝛ lady is not clepid with outen cause þe auter

[1] S. Maria della Rotonda, or *ad Martyres*, was consecrated by Pope Boniface IV on May 13, 608. In 655 Constans II, who removed so many treasures from Rome, stripped the roof of its gilt bronze tiles and removed them to Constantinople; this work of destruction was completed in 1632 by Urban VIII, who melted down the remains of the bronze roof for the baldacchino of S. Peter's. The church was repaired by Benedict II in 684, Gregory III in 735, Anastasius IV in 1153, and Eugenius IV in 1434. Pius IV repaired the great bronze doors, and Urban VIII restored the façade in 1634, adding two clumsy campanili which were afterwards removed. The *Volto Santo* was kept here for centuries in a chest locked with thirteen keys, of which each Rione of the town possessed one (Armellini, p. 346; Adinolfi, ii, p. 407; Marucchi, p. 412; Nibby, p. 406).

[2] aucestors.

[3] Walafridus Strabo (807–49) was the author of the *Glossa ordinaria* (see Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, cxiv, col. 73).

of god for þat uirgine was þe first auteꝛ þat receyued þe flesch and þe blood of ouꝛ lord ihū whech flesch and blood a mongis cristen men now is ministred on eu*e*ry auter. In þis cherch are wrytyn þese uers. Hac ara celi sibilla sermone fideli Quem genus humanu*m* colat instruit octauianu*m*. Hec ê uirgo parens ait hic deus est homo parens Hic rex fine carens tu rex homo flos uelut arens. This is þe sentens of þese uers as I undirstand. This is þe auteꝛ of heuene where sibille witȝ wordis ful trewe Off him þat alle me*n* schul worchip mad . . .

(Part of MS. missing here.)

/ stand of þe loweꝛ wisdam whech is sent fro god. A noþir part of hir pictuꝛ is þat sche is euyr peyntid ȝong. For wisdam is neuyr eld but euyr new and new offered to ouꝛ soule. Sche halt a spere in hir hand to signifie þat þei whech be endewid with wisdam schuld be redy euyr to defende hem fro þe p*er*ilo*us* temptacio*n*nes of þe deuele. Gorgones heed berith sche in hir breest. These poetes feyne þat þeꝛ were thre monstres þat is to sey men or women mis schapin for þei thre had but o hed and on eye whech monstres a conqweroueꝛ as þei feyne his name was p*er*seus killid. But be for his conquest he borowid þe spere of þis same pallas and eke hir scheld þat was mad of cristal. Al þis is feyned to þis entent þat a wise ma schal euyr haue dreed in his breest for to be waꝛ and redy a geyn alle þe fraudes of ouꝛ enmy whech may transfigure him selue in to what schap þat he wil. Many mo similitudes ar writen be twix þese to mynerue and wisdam but I wil leue hem and sent ȝou if ȝe list to lerne moꝛ of þis mateꝛ on to a book cleped mithologie fulgencii.[1] f. 411 r

[1] The church of S. Maria sopra Minerva was erected over a temple dedicated to that goddess, the cella of which could he traced in the adjoining conveut until the sixteenth century. S. Zacharias, ahout the year 750, granted it to Greek Basilian nuns, who, however, abandoned it. It was given in 1370 hy the Senate and people of Rome to the Dominicans of S. Sahina, and was entirely reconstructed. The interior was restored and redecorated at great expense in 1849–54, but unfortunately in the most florid style. This is all the more to he regretted, as this is the only Gothic church in Rome which retains to any extent its original style (Armellini, p. 406; Marucchi, p. 514; Nibhy, p. 414; Masetti, *Memorie storiche della chiesa di S. Maria sopra Minerva*, Rome, 1855). Part of the temple existed at the time our author wrote, for Muffel says: 'ist der abtgotter tempel gewest, Minerfa genannt, ein gar herlich kloster, die ist ein gottin gewest der streit, der waffen, und des alten tempels stet nur noch ein stuck' (p. 51). Fulgentius Plauciades (who must not be confused with Fulgentius Ruspensis) lived ahout A.D. 520, and is helieved to have heen Bishop of Carthage. He was the author of three books of mythology, addressed to a priest named Catus. A hook of the allegories of Virgil, addressed to Chalcides the grammarian, is also attrihuted to him (Moreri, *Dictionnaire historique*).

Of þe cherch cleped marie anu*n*ciat. cap̄ u.

Marie anu*n*ciat is a wol fayre cherch whech stant in þe feld as we go fro scala celi[1] on to sei*n*t sebastianes a myle fro þe o place and a myle fro þe oþir. It sta*n*t now with outen ony dwelleꝛ and ȝet hath it a fayre litil place annexid þer*to*. Saue at þe dedicacion of þe place whech is in þe fest of anu*n*ciacion of ouꝛ lady þan be su*m* folk abydyng þ*er*e.[2] Off þis place we fynde swech wrytyng. An holy man dwelt þ*er*e sumtyme þat seruyd god and oure lady i*n* ful solitary lif and be cause þe place was of þat fest of ouꝛ lady whech is clepid anu*n*ciacion whan þat gabriel cam fro heuene and teld oure lady þoo gracious tydynggis þe sauacion of al þe world he had in þis place grete deuocio*u*n. Up on a day ouꝛ lady appered on to him and seide þat what man in clene lif deuoutely wil uisite þis place he schal neuyr com in þe peynes of ~~purgatorie~~.[3] Many oþir þinggis be seid þ*er*e of þis place whech I may wel be leue be cause þat þis fest of ouꝛ lady is a solempne and a p*r*incipal fest aftir myn opinion for on þis day nowt only was oure lady gladid with tydynggis of gabriel but many oþir þingis fel in þis feest as a grete uersifyouꝛ witnessith in certeyn uers whech folow here. Salue festa dies que uulnera nostra coherces Angelus est missus est passus in cruce cristus. Est adam factus & eodem tempore lapsus Ob meritum decime cadit abel fratris ab ense Offert melchisedec ysaac supponitur aris Est decolatus Xpi baptista beatus Petrus ereptus iacobus sub herode peremptus Corpora scorum cum Xpo multa resurgunt Latro dulce tamen per Xpm suscipit
f. 411 v amen. / This is þe sentens of þese uers. Heil þou festful day þat puttist ouꝛ woundes away. This day þe aungel was sent crist on þe crosse was bent. Adam was mad þis day and turned to þe synful way. For fals tithyng we say cayn killid abel þis day. Melchisedech with abraham mette with bred and wyn he him grette. Ion baptist þis day was ded for treuth he lost his

[1] Tre Fontane.

[2] The church of S. Maria Annunziata (*Nunziatella*) is near the Via Ardeatina, about three miles from the city. It was consecrated by Honorius III in 1220, probably on the site of an older church (Nibby, *Dintorni di Roma*, f. iii, p. 561). There used to be an old pilgrims' road from Tre Fontane to this church, and thence on to S. Sebastiano. The latter part of it exists, and is still much used on the day of the Annunciation, and on the first Sunday in May. There are some catacombs close by, with some interesting frescoes. Inside the church, which is now in an abandoned condition, will be found some remains of its former importance. In the apse there is a fine fresco (much restored) of the Quattro Cento, the subject being the Annunciation. There is a cosmatesque pavement in front of the high altar and a cosmatesque tabernacle in the sacristy, both of which appear to belong to the restoration of Honorius III. There is an ancient stone altar in the sacristy which probably was in the older church, and the dedicatory inscription of Honorius III is still *in situ*, on the interior wall of the building (Armellini, p. 729).

[3] 'purgatorie' crossed through in MS., but quite legible.

hed Petir fro prisou was drawe and james þis day I slawe. Many men owt of þe grou*n*d Rise þis day both hool and[1]. The þeef on cristis rith hand herd ful good tytaud[2].

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Of þe cherch clepid marie transpodiu*m*. ui.

Marie transpodiu*m* is a cherch of ou*r* lady in þe cyte leonine whe*r* seynt petir cherch stant whi it is called transpodiu*m* treuly I coude not lerne for þe dwelleres ar wroth a non if men ask ony questiones.[3] Trans is as mech to sey as ouyr and podiu*m* a leuy*n*g ioyned in ou*r* langage it sou*n*dith ouyr þe leny*n*g what leny*n*g was he*r* or whi it is clepid soo treuly I ca*n* not gesse. This mech I say þe*r*, too pileris on to whech petir & paule were bou*n*de and bete for þei taute þe feith of ou*r* lord ihū. Thus were þe holy apostoles ofte tyme serued whan þei cam first on to a cyte and prechid þe name of crist a non þei were had in to þe cou*n*cel and betyn naked aud forbodyn þat þei schuld no more uemel[4] cristes uame on to þe puple. Off þis maner chastising were mauy dyue*r*s uses a mong*is* dyue*r*s naciones. I haue red þat su*m*me iuges a mongis þe hethen men suffered he*r* torme*n*touris to bete men with outeu mesu*r* e þir tyl þe beter was wery or ellis til he þat was betyn was ded. For þese ondiscret iuges oure lord god comau*n*ded his puple in þe old testame*n*t þat þe iuges schuld not suffir men to be betyn undiscretly for ou*r* lord put ou to hem a reule þat þei schuld not passe xl lacch. Off þis mate*r* spekith sei*n*t paule ful pleynly as a man þat had gret expe*r*iens of þis mate*r* in þe secund epistel ad cori*n*thios and seith on þis mane*r*. A iudeis qui*n*quies quadragenas una min*us* accepi. In englisch he seith þus. Of þe iewis fyue sithis fourty lasch ou lesse I took. These schort wordis wil I expresse

[1] 'sou*n*d' in margin of MS. [2] tidings.

[3] The church of S. Maria *Transpontina* was known under no less than ten names, of which Armellini gives us nine, as follows: *In capite porticus, in capite pontis, transpontem, transpadina, transpontina, traspadina, in transpondina, transpondine*, and *in cosmedin*. The tenth, *in turrispadina*, is given by Signorili. The existing church, of the same name, was built on quite a different spot, and most authorities agree that the old church was near the Castle of S. Angelo, though Adinolfi thinks (reasoning from the name) that it was nearer the old bridge which no longer exists, and was on the *platea castelli* mentioned in documents of the Middle Ages. Writers disagree as to under whose pontificate the old church was pulled down in order to rebuild it on another site. Donati (*Roma vetus et recens*, I. II, c. 9, p. 371) says that it was done by Alexander VI; Felini, in his treatise, p. 60, and Alveri (*Roma in ogni stato*, p. 2[a]), think it was Pius IV; the annotators of the *Bollario Vaticano* give Sixtus V; Torrigio (*Grotte Vaticaue*, p. 134) says that it was where the ditch of the castle was in his time, and that it was pulled down by Pius IV in July, 1564, in order to rebuild the bastions of the fortress. Adinolfi thinks that Felini and Alveri are probably right in the view they take (Adinolfi, *La portica di S. Pietro, ossia borgo, nell' età di mezzo*, p. 67; Armellini, p. 348; Nibby, p. 485). One of the meanings of *podium* given by Ducange is hill or castle: can the meaning *transpodium* possibly be the church across or beyond the Castle of S. Angelo?

[4] obs. = to name.

to ȝou in largeꝛ langage. The iewis hated paule gretly be cause he forsok heꝛ secte and be leued in crist wherfor oft tyme þei called him to counceli and bete him for his preching. The noumbir of his scorging*is* he telleth heꝛ fyue sithis he seith. The maneꝛ he telleth eke eche tyme had he fourty lacch saue on þat is to sey ech tyme xxxix. Be cause her lawe comaunded þat þei schuld not passe xl lacch and þei hem self wold be hald m*er*cyful þouȝ þei were not soo þ*er*for þei ȝoue him on lasse þan þe lawe comaunded. Thus had þe seruaun*t*is of ouꝛ lord mech aduersite in þis world for whech aduersite þei be now gretly enhaun*s*ed in heuene.

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f. 412 r / Of þe cherch cleped sc̄a maria de palma. cap̄ uii.

Marie de palma is a cherch in þe hey wey as we go fro porta appia on to sebastianes cherch.[1] This is a praty litil cherch & a place annexid þ*er*too where is comoun*ly* a tauerne to þe coun*f*ort of pilgrimes. Whi it is clepid de palma I lerned not but a man*er* of gessing I haue for þ*er*e left ouꝛ lord ihū sei*n*t petir whan he sent him a geyn to rome to receyue his deth in confirmacion of cristen feith. And be cause conquerouris in eld tyme wered þe palme for uictori þ*er*for þe cherch applieth þis langage on to martires seying þat aftir heꝛ deth þei are worthi þe palma þat is to sey to be clepid uictores as maystires ouyr þe fleschly lustis, & ouyrcomer*is* of tem*p*taciones of þe world, þe deuel, and greuous tyraun*t*es. Be ȝond þis cherch not fer litil moꝛ þan a boweschote sta*n*t a crosse þei clepe it dom*i*ne quo uadis. Ther met ouꝛ lord with petir whan he fled his martirdam.[2] Petir knew him weel

[1] The church of S. Maria *de palma* is the one so familiar now under the name of the *Domine quo vadis*. It is first mentioned as the church 'uhi Dominus apparuit', and appears to have been known as early as the ninth century. As time went on it was called *de palma, ad palmas, ad passus, plantarum, ad transitum*, of which terms Armellini says: '. . . alcune delle quali si referiscono all' apparizione storica, altre ad una pietra sulla quale sono scolpite due impressioni di piedi nelle quali la pietà dei pellegrini dell' età di mezzo ritrovò le orme miraculose del Salvatore. Di questa pietra non si trova però alcuna allusione se non nei secoli posteriori.' Finally, in the fourteenth century it was generally known as S. Maria *delle Palme* or *del Passo*, and this name continued till the sixteenth or seventeenth century. In the E. E. Text Society's vol. No. 25 for 1867, p. 7, will be found, in the Vernon MS. (fourteenth century) on the *Stacions of Rome*, a passage in which the church is called the *Palmalle*, or footsole. The church was rebuilt in 1620 under Clement VIII, and the façade is due to Cardinal Barberini in 1637 (Armellini, p. 704; Marucchi, p. 515).

[2] It will he noticed that our chronicler fixes the precise spot of the meeting at a bow-shot's distance from the church, and that this spot was then marked hy a cross, and called the *Domine quo vadis*. It is now marked hy the small circular chapel huilt by Cardinal Pole. Muffel agrees with our author, and says that the first altar, where Christ, bearing the cross, appeared to Peter, is 700 paces from the spot where He disappeared, leaving the mark of His feet on the stone, where a church has heen huilt to record the place. Then follows a curious legend ahout another small church in this neighbourhood: 'Item so ist ein capellen unser lihen frawen auch auf dem weg gen

and asked of him whidir he wold goo. Oure lord saide he went to rome a gayn to be crucified. Thoo was petir gretly rebukid and our lord saide on to him þanne. Go þou to rome a gayn. Thus walkid þei fro þat crosse on to þis cherch our lord and he to gidir and sodeynly at þat place where þis cherch stant our lord passid fro him. And þere was a ston sumtyme in þat cherch kept undyr þe auter wher þe steppes of our lordis bare feet are impressid but be cause þe place is desolat saue whan pilgrimes be þer þerfor is þis ston born to seynt sebastianes and þer it lith in þe sacristie men may se it whan þei wil. Crist as it semeth was a meth[1] man for þe steppis be rith large. | Here may men enqwire of me of þis apparicion of crist for it was aftir his ascension wheythir his body was þere or nowt, or elles an aungell appered in his stede. | Of þis mater is grete difficulte a mongis dyuynes. Be for þe incarnacion þei sey þat þoo appariciones wer mad be aungelles representyng þe persone of god and doyng þe message of god. Aftir þe incarnacion þere is no doute but þat crist appered in his manhod uisibily on to all þat wold se him. Be twix þe resurrexion and þe ascencioun is seid also þat crist appered in his uery body glorificat whech body myth entre þorw wall and bord & no þing lette it for þat body had þan and 3et hath þe iiii precious þingis whech þei clepe dotes þat is to sey subtilite þat no þing may hold it, agilite þat al þing may bere it, impassibilite þat it may suffer neythir deth ne seknesse, clernesse eke with whech þe dul undistanding of þe body is a uoyded. So up on þis our doctouris put in doute þoo appariciones aftir his ascencion wheithir ~~þoo were~~[2] þoo were in cristis body assumpt or ellis be þe ministeri of an aungell summe hold þe o part sum þe oþir, but I be leue / þat þe manhod of crist myth aftir his ascensioun apper on to petir f. 412 v
þou3 it were so þat petir say not þe godhed. If þis posicion be ony þing a geyn þe feith or a geyn scriptur I wil gladly reuoke it.

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Of þe cherch clepid sca m de pplō. cā uiii.

Sca maria de populo is a fayr litil place[3] in rome fast by a gate cleped porta flaminea on þe north side of rome whech place is inhabit with freres

Sant Sebastian, do ein ritter sein weib dem teufel wolt geben haben, der in reych machen solt, do stig sein weib ab dem rosz und pettet vor dem altar unser frawen und entschliff, do sasz die junckfraw Maria in des beibs' (Weibs) 'gestalt hinder in und do ers dem teufel wolt antburtten, do floch der teufel und die fraw ward also erlost von dem teufel von der junckfraw Maria' (Muffel, p. 39).

[1] mighty, large or great in stature.

[2] Struck through and interlineated in MS.

[3] A small oratory was founded by Pascal II in 1099 on the site believed to be Nero's tomb. A larger church was built in 1227. This was restored by Sixtus IV and completed by Julius II. Alexander VII modernized the church, and it is now known as S. Maria del Popolo (Armellini, p. 339; Marucchi, p. 515; Nibby, p. 456).

cleped hermytes of seynt austyn. The fame of þis place ros for þis cause. The wikkid emperour of rome clepid nero ded many grete wrongis to þe cite for whech dedis he had ful grete enmyte. The last wrong he ded on to hem he mad his men to sette a grete part of rome on fyr sum sey þe romaues compleyned on to him þat her stretes were narow and whan he had hrent half rome he seid on to hem þat þei had space I now to make her stretis more large. Summe sey þat he red who gret lamentacion was mad at troye whan it was on fir and for þat cause he fyred rome to loke what lamentacion þe puple schuld make. This dede was cause þat þe puple roos and compelled þe senatoures to gader her counceil to loke what remedye myth he had a geyn þe wikkid desires of þis tyraunt. The counceil answerd þat he was cursed and incorrigihil wherfor þei determyned þat with grete strength þei wold sle him. This cam to neroes ere and he nyth he fled on to þis same place whech is clepid sca maria de populo & yere he killid him selue with a swerd as it is openly peynted in þat place. But oþir cronicles sey þat as he went for to hide him a mongis þe uynes and þe buschis he herd too or thre chorles þat sote he a fyre speke of þe emperour and on of hem sayde. Be my trouth and I wist wher he were I schuld sone be sikyr of him. Nero herd þis and þout it schuld be grete derogacion to his name if he wer ded of a chorlys hand þerfor with a gret scharp stake he persed him self to þe hert. This was þe end of þe man aftir our cronicules. Many dayes aftir þis was doo þe deueles þat kept his body ded mech harm at þis gate þat þer myth no man erly ne late go ne entir be þis wey hut he were gretly hurt. So in pope * pascalis tyme þe puple of rome compleyned gretly of þis greuauns and he comaunded þat þe same puple schuld fast iii dayes and pray god to send sum remedy a geyn þis tribulacion. On þe þird nyth our lady appered on to þe pope * ad seyde he must go with procession of þe puple on to þe gate on þe north side of rome clepid flaminea þer in a uyne ȝerd schuld he fynde many walnot trees and undir þe grettest tre of all þere schuld he fyude þe body of wikkid nero. This hody sche bad him he schuld take up and brenne. | þe tree schuld he dig up rote an all and where þe tree stood make an auter
f. 413 r in þe worchip of hir / whech is qween of heuene and modir to god. This pope * pascale made þe auter as he was comaunded and gaf to þe place many relikes I wote weel of dyners seyntis þere he mor þat[1] xl eythir of her flesch or of her hones or cloþis or sum oþir þing. The fayrest iewel is[2] þer is a ymage of our lady depeynted of seynt luk it is but half a ymage fro þe naule upward in a hlew mantell rihaned with white and gold enterfered þe uisage of it large and hrood and þe mantell þrow ouyr hir hed iu hir lift hand hir child clad in red. There he mo ymages in rome of lukis peynting þau þis but þis is

[1] ? than.

[2] 'is' struck out in MS.

gretly soute.[1] For eu*er*y satirday comth mech puple þidir and þe cardinales and courtisanes uisit þis place deuly not withstandi*n*g it is not open ne þei se it nowt. On þe friday be foꝛ þe fourt su*n*day in lenton þan is it set open and grete multitude of puple is þe*re* at yat openy*n*g and so is it kept open on day lith on to þe sunday aftir pas whech is called in albis, eu*er*y day þat tyme is þe*re* grete pres of romanes but moost on Satirday aftir noon for be for noon þei uisit þe saluatouꝛ at seynt ion late*r*anens*is*. Whi þis place is cleped sc̄a maria de pplō or who þis ymage cam in to þat place now schal ȝe here. In þe tyme of þe ix pope * gregorie it were betir seid in tyme of þat pope * whech was clepid gregorie þe ix fell a grete pestilens in rome for euyr whan deth comth to þat cite þei dey with grete speed and mech wayling and cry*n*g is þe*re*. So in þis popes tyme and in þis pestilens þe puple of rome ru*n*ne hool on to þe popes presens and prayed with gret instau*n*s þat he wold ordeyne a p*ro*cession and comau*n*d þe puple for to prey on to god þat þis ueniau*n*ce myth sese. The pope * grau*n*ted hem her peticiou*n* and saide he wold go with hem and haue a *ser*mone and syng masse him selue. þe place of her stacion þat day he assigned him selue he wold haue þe stacion he saide at þat place of ouꝛ lady whech was neuly bikkid be his predecessouꝛ pascale. And to multiple moꝛ deuociou*n* in þe puple he wold brynge on of þo ymages þat sei*n*t luke depeynted and offere it and gyue it to þe place for euyr. Al þis p*ro*misse rehersid was do in dede þe pestilens cesed þe ymage is þe*re* stille and be cause þe pope * gaue þe ymage at instau*n*ce of þe puple and grau*n*ted eke grete p*ar*don to þe same place at þe same instau*n*ce þ*er*for is it clepid sc̄a maria de populo.[2]

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Of þe place cleped sc̄a m̄ de penis i*n*ferni. cā ix.

There is a place *fast by seynt georges entitiled eke *[3] on to ouꝛ lady and þei clepe it þeꝛ sc̄a maria de penis inferni. Who þis name cam up red I þe*re*

[1] This description of the miraculous picture is absolutely correct in every detail. It is still preserved over the high altar of the church, and was originally in the chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum, until it was brought here by Gregory IX as described by our chronicler. In Mid Lent a procession is formed in the church and the picture is exposed. It remains open to view until the Tuesday following the first Sunday after Easter (*in albis*), when it is again covered. It is much blackened with age, but there is a good copy (old) behind the high altar, from which it can be studied better. Muffel mentions this picture also, and says (p. 53, ed. Vogt): 'do ist gar ein andecbtig unser Frawen pild, das sand lucas gemacht hat, sol ir gleich sein.' Also in the oldest Germau *Mirabilia* (about 1475) we find: 'Czu unser lieben Frawen de populo . . . do ist unser lieben Frawen pilt, hat Sc. Lucas gemalet.'

[2] Muffel's account of the foundation of this church agrees in all particulars with the above; except that he says, as regards the origin of the name: 'die capellen ward gantz gepauet von allem volk nur in eim tag, und darumb wurd sie geheissen Maria de populo' (p. 53).

[3] From * to * interlineated in MS.

schortly in þe same cherch on þis maner.[1] Ther was a dragon in rome of
f. 413 v grete quantite whech killid mech puple / and seynt siluester bond him be neth þe ground an hundred passe & l. & called þat place libera nos de penis inferni and graunted þerto pardon xi mł ȝere. This is wrytyn on a table in þat litil cherch. But in þe lif of seynt siluester is more large talkyng of þis mater. Ther fynde I wrytyn þat aftir tyme siluester had conuerted constantine and ouercome þe xii iewis þat heleyn brout fro ierlm conuerted hem and heleyn eke aftir þis þe bischoppis of þe maumentis in rome came with a grete compleynt on to constantin and told him who þat dragon þat had be in a pitte many day and do but litil harm now sith constantin was cristen had slayn moo þan iii hundred persones. This saide þei to make þe emperour be leue þat her goddis were wroth for he was cristen and in her wreth ded þis ucniaunce. Siluester was sent aftir and he undirtok in þe name of our lord to ordeyn remedye a geyn þis perel. The bischoppis of þe temples wher ydoles were worchiped promitted on to constantin þat if siluester ordeyn for þis dragon he do no more harm þei all wil be conuerted to crist. Siluester continued a day or too in fastyng and prayer. Thoo appered on to him scynt petir and saide þese wordes. Be not a ferd siluestir for to do as I shal sey þe. Thou and too of þi prestes goo boldly down to þe dragon he lith be nethe in þe erde I hundred passe & l. Take lith with þe and whan þou seest him sey on to him þese wordis. Our lord ihū crist born of a uirgine crucified and biried whech ros up þe þird day fro deth and sittith on þe rithand of þe fader aftirward schal come and deme both qwik and dede he comaundeth þe dragon þat þou do no harm he comaundeth þe sathanas þat þou abide him here in þis same place on to þat same tyme þat he schal come to þe doom.[2] Whan þou hast said þese wordes take a þreed

[1] S. Maria *de penis inferni* was on the same site as the church of S. Maria Liberatrice, and was built on or near the ruins of S. Maria *Antiqua* which has been so recently excavated in the Forum. The existence of the interesting ancient church, now brought to light by the demolition of S. Maria Liberatrice, was well known, and the frescoes had been seen and described more or less correctly before the demolition was determined upon (see Armellini). It is not known when the church of S. Maria *Antiqua* was abandoned, but it is believed to have occurred about the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. The more modern church was constructed, according to Marucchi, in the sixteenth century, and was restored by Cardinal Lante in 1617. But it seems clear from our author that a church existed there in the fifteenth century, that it was a station church, and that there was an inscription in it which explained the origin of the title *de penis inferni* (Armellini, p. 357; Marucchi, p. 247; Nibby, p. 377).

[2] Graf quotes the *Storia di S. Silvestro*, ed. by Michele Melga, Naples, 1859, which says that Peter speaks as follows to S. Silvester: 'Incontanente che tu, Silvestro, giugnerai allo dragone, e tu dirai cotali parole: Jesu cristo, nato della Vergine per virtù dello Spirito Santo, e quale fu crocifisso e sopellito, e riuscitò dalla morte; el quale andò in cielo, e siede dalla mano dritta del suo padre; el quale verrà nella fine del mondo a giudicare e giusti e peccatori, si ti manda, comandando, Settanas, el quale abita in

and bynde his mouth to gidir and with a ryng þat hath a crosse graue þerin þou schalt sele þe knot and make al sikir. Seynt siluest*er* ded as petir comaun*d*ed and aftir his dede cam oute saaf and hool. Too wicchis þ*er*e were þat folowid siluestir in to þe pitte for to se who he wold werk and þei had be ded of þe blast of þis beest but þat siluest*er* prayed for hem. Thei too seying þis miracle weꝛ turned to crist and alꝉ þe forsaid bischoppis with mech oþir puple. Tho siluest*er* ded stop þis hole and set þis cherch in þe hole clepid it as we said be foꝛ and ȝaue on to it swech indulgence as is eke rehersed.

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Of þe cherch cleped sc̄a m̄ iuxta scolam greco*rum*. c̄a x.

A nothir cherch of ouꝛ lady called sc̄a maria iuxta scolam greco*rum* is rith in þe weye as we go to seynt paules or we come at þe mount aduen*t*yn þe cherch stant on þe lift hand and scola greco*rum* on þe rith hand.[1] This same / scola greco*rum* is a grete hye rou*n*d hous whech stood on white f. 414 r
pileres of marbiłł now it is al wallid with til for þe pileris be age ar wasted. In þis skole was ex*er*cise of lerny*n*g in alꝉ þe uii scienses for mech of oure lerny*n*g cam fro þe grekis and for þat cause þe grekis held open skole at rome in her langage. That þe seuene sciens were taute as weel in þe greke tonge as in þe laty*n* tonge witnessith þe lif of seynt austyn where it is seid þat þe same austyn hated þe grek lett*er*is and loued þe latyn. The cherch þt stan*t* be for þis skole is dedicat on to oure lady and in þis cherch as we fynde writyn taute * ~~seynt thomas of cauntirbyry~~ *[2] philosophie and rethorik to hem þat wold come. For he was exile uii ȝere & in his exile he dwelled sumpart at rome.[3] Be fore þe dore of þis cherch stant a grete rou*n*d ston

questa cava, si debbi aspettare di qui alla fine del mondo, e non debii nuocere a persona' (*Roma nella memoria*, &c., Appendix to vol. ii, p. 585).

[1] The church of S. Maria *iuxta Scholam Graecam* or *Graecorum*, or *in Cosmedin*, was erected on the ruins of an ancient temple of Ceres and other gods. It is recorded in the sixth century as a *diaconia*. The title of the church arises from the number of Greek merchants and seamen who traded and worked in the vicinity; in the eighth century the bank of the river here was called the *Ripa Graeca*. Adrian I rebuilt the church, and after this it took the name of *in Cosmedin* (a derivative of κοσμεῖν, to adorn), a title it shared with S. Maria *in Transpontina*, a church at Naples, and another at Ravenna. It was restored in the ninth century by Nicholas I, and by Callixtus II in the twelfth. Three Popes were elected here, Gelasius II, Celestine III, and Benedict XII, antipope. The front was added by Cardinal Albani in 1718 (Armellini, p. 391; Marucchi, p. 270; Nibby, p. 367).

[2] From * to * struck through in MS.

[3] 'In ecclesia sc̄e marie de scola grecorum ubi sanctus martir Thomas tenuit scholas sunt septem anni indulgencie' (*Bodl. MS., Digby*, fol. 10).

'At a chapel . of ure ladi.
þer held scole sei*n*t Thomas of Can*t*urburi'
(E. E. Text Society, 1867. *Vernon and Porkington MS., Stacions of Rome*, p. 23).

and þat is mad aftir þe figure of a mannes face. This ston calle þei þere os iusti. This ston was enchaunted sumtyme be swich craft þat what man cam to þis ston or woman and swore a trew oth in ony mater þat he wer̃ charged of he schuld putte his hand in þe mouth of þis ston & pulle it oute esely. And if so werc þat his oth were fals he schuld neuyr pulle oute his hand with oute grete hurt. Therfor was þis ston cleped os iusti þe rithful mouth.[1]

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Of sc̄a m̃ *imperatrix* de imperiali. cā xi.

A nothir memorie of oure lady is as we go to lateranen*sis* at a corner & þat is cleped imperatrix de imperiali þe emperesse of þe empir̃. There is a fayre ymage peynted on a wal in honour̃ of our̃ lady whech ymage spak sum tyme to a pope comaundyng him to do hir reuerens as he ded to othir. The story seith rith þus. There was a pope in rome cleped celestin*us* qu*in*tus. This pope had so grete deuocion in our̃ lady þat be fore euery ymage of hir he wold tary and sey an aue maria. This used he many ȝeres. So in his tyme was gadered a grete councełł at seynt jon laterane for reformacioun of þe cherch and þis pope* rode in a morownyng with his breþrin þe cardinales comownyng of certeyn materes þat were purposed in þe councełł hauyng no consideracion at þis ymage ne doyng no reuerens þertoo. Sche stood þan openly peynted on þe wal as sche doth now but sche was not housed as sche is now. Whan þe pope* was sumwhat passed and goo þe ymage of our̃ lady cried with a lowde uoys and seyde. Celestine what offens haue I do to þe þat þou wilt not do me þe same seruyse whech þou art wont to do to all̃ my sisteres. Remember þe wel who þere is no ymage in my name but þou wilt with glad chere tary be fore it and with deuoute ~~hi~~[2] sey þere þe same wordes

[1] This stone was at one time believed to be a magical work of Vergil, and was called Bocca della Verità for the reason given in the text. But, according to the *Mirabilia*, it was formerly known as the *rota*, for we find: 'In porticu eiusdem' (S. Maria *in Cosmedin*) 'est magna rota lapidea ad molae formam, cui foramina quinque adsunt, quasi oris, narium, et oculorum, et vocant Bocca della Verità.' See Graf, *Roma nella memoria*, &c., vol. ii, p. 139. See also article by Ersilia Lovatelli-Caetani in the *Nuova Antologia*, cxvii, 1891, pp. 152–9. In the *Mirabilia* also occurs the following passage: 'Ad sanctam Mariam in fontana templum Fauni quod simulacrum locutus est Iuliano et decepit eum.' This refers to the story of the widow who entrusted her property to Julian the Apostate, and was robbed by him. She demanded that Julian should be sworn in presence of an idol she had found in the Tiber, an image of Mercury. When Julian, by order of the Pope (whose chaplain he was!), introduces his hand into the mouth of the idol and swears, his hand is caught in the closing mouth, and his guilt thereby proved (Graf, vol. ii, pp. 135 sqq.). 'Una pietra tonda a modo di maciua con uno viso intagliatovi dentro che si chiama la lapida della verità, che anticamente aveva virtù di mostrare quando una donna avessi fatto fallo al suo marito' (Rucellai, *Il Giubileo dell' anno santo 1450*, *Archiv. St. Pat.*, 1881, vol. iv, fasc. iv, p. 580).

[2] '~~hi~~' struck through in MS.

whech gabriel saide to me. The pope * was al astoyned descended of his hors kneled down denoutly be fore þe ymage mekely asked forgyfnesse and deuly saide / þere swech orison as he used. Tho named he þis place ad scam mariam f. 414 v imperatricem de imperiali þe place of seynt mari emperesse of þe empire. He graunted eke to alł þoo þat uisite þis place with deuocion a mł 3ere and u hundred.[1]

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Of þe cherch cleped sca m de consolacione. cā xii

There is a noþir litil cherch fast by þe capitol entitiled on to ouꝛ lady whech þei clepe sca maria de consolacione.[2] In þis cherch as it is seid seynt bernard nsed mech to sey his dutes both seruyse dyuyne and uoluntarie deuociones. He wold eke wayte him tyme whan he myth solitarie knele be fore þis ymage and loke þeron þan wolde he with grete deuocion haue his meditaciones be him self. Aftir grete custom of þis noble exercise up on a day he kneled and lokid on þis ymage. And saide be fore hir þis ympne. Aue marie stella and whan he cam at þis uers Monstra te esse matrem sodeynly be gret myracle þe ymage put hir hand on to hir breest and þrist hir breest so þat too or thre dropes of mylk sprang in bernardis face. More fynde I not of þis place.[3]

[1] The church of S. Maria *Imperatrix* has entirely disappeared. In a note (p. 165) Nichols says: 'S. Gregory *in Martio* is identified with the little chapel of S. Maria Imperatrice, which lately existed in the garden of the English sculptor Warrington Wood, at the Villa Campana, in the angle between the Via S. Giovanni Laterano and the Via SS. Quattro.' This agrees exactly with the position described in the MS. Armellini gives the same indication of its existence in the Villa Campana (now built over), and adds that Mellini read, in an inscription, a legend stating that the image of the Virgin had miraculously spoken to S. Gregory (not to S. Celestine). In another place (p. 447) he says that the image was transferred to S. Maria delle Grazie, a small oratory attached to the Lateran Hospital (Nichols, *Marvels of Rome*, p. 165, n. 382; Armellini, pp. 286, 447). In the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian there is a written tablet connecting the miracle with S. Gregory; Marucchi, in the index of his book (p. 513), says that it happened to S. Gregory. There is no mention of the occurrence in the article on S. Celestine in Stadler's *Heiligenlexikon*. 'Item zů sant Marcellino lygt hinter unser frowen capell keyserin im wingarten' (*Ein Büchlin*, Strassburg, 1500, p. E iiii B.M, p. E iii v, Bodleian copy). See also Muffel, p. 18; also cf. Adinolfi, vol. i, pp. 218, 302.

[2] Our author can hardly be referring to the church now called S. Maria della Consolazione, inasmuch as Armellini and Marucchi agree that it was built in 1470. There was, however, a miraculous picture of the Virgin in the Vicus Jugarius, in the portico of the granaries of the Mattei. Whether there was an oratory or not, is not quite clear in Bruzio's narration, as quoted by Armellini (Armellini, p. 383; Marucchi, Appendix, p. 513).

[3] This story of S. Bernard is found in chronicles of his Order, but, as Stadler says, such accounts can only be accepted as legendary. It was believed in the Middle Ages that the saint owed his honeyed eloquence to his having drunk from the Blessed Virgin's breast (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*).

Of þat cherch clepid sc̄a maria in portien. cap̄ xiii.

A noþir place þere is consecrate to ouꝛ ladi whech þei clepe sc̄a maria in porticu seint mary in þe porch.[1] In þis place dwelled sumtyme a worthi woman called galla. Synacus a gret lord of rome was hir fader. Sche leued in þe tyme of þe first pope þat hith jon and in þe dayes of þe emperouꝛ iustiniane whech was justines son. This woman aftir þe deth of hir fader was endewyd with grete richesse and spent þoo goodes left on to hir in noble uses principaly to þe worchip of god. Sche hir selue eke leued in gret contemplacioun comitting þe gouernauns of hir houshold on to hir seruauntis. Up on a day as sche sat at mete on of hir maydenes went to þe seler for to fech wyn and sodeynly up on a pileꝛ whech boꝛ np þe hous sche sey a grete brithnesse and in þe myddis of þis lith a faiꝛ ymage of ouꝛ lady. The mayde sore astoyned ran in to hir lady and told hir of þis meruelous sith. Sche ros with gret hast and loked þe lith sey sche wel but ymage sche sey non. Hir counceℓℓ gane hir þis reed that to þe byschop[2] schuld she goo and telle him pleynly þis þing newly fallen. So to þe paleys lateranensis sche goth for þere lay þe byschop[2] þanne þere told sche him of þis apparicion desired of him he schuld come þidir him selue. The byschop[2] consented to hir desire. He wold first he seid haue his confessouꝛ and dispose him to swech heuenely sitis. He counceled hir eke to do þe same and þis do he seid streit he wil go with hir. Thei cam hom on to galla hous nout alone[3] with cardinales patriarkes and bischoppis with þe senatoures and mech puple of rome. Whan þei weꝛ þere . . .[4]

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Cætera desnnt.

[1] The church of S. Maria *in Porticu* is also called S. Galla, having been founded by S. Galla, daughter of Symmachus, mentioned by S. Gregory in his *Dialogues* (lib. IV, cxiii). It was consecrated by S. John I in the time of Theodoric. The portico from which it takes its cognomen was known in the Middle Ages by the name of the *Porticus Gallatorum*. The church was rebuilt by Gregory VII (Hildebrand) in the year 1073, and was restored by the Odescalchi family in the eighteenth century. The miraculous fresco was removed by Alexander VII to the church of S. Maria *in Campitelli*, with which this church must not be confused (Armellini, p. 360 ; Nibby, p. 357 ; Marucchi, Appendix, p. 506).

[2] 'pope' erased, 'byschop' substituted in another hand in MS.

[3] 'but' in margin of MS.

[4] S. Galla was the daughter of Symmachus, who, together with Boethius, was executed during Theodoric's reign. She was widowed shortly after her marriage, and Fulgentius Ruspensis addressed his letter *de statu viduarum* to her. After the miraculous apparition of the Blessed Virgin she converted her house into a church. She then retired to a cell on the Vatican, and gave all her wealth to the poor. She bore with patience great suffering, due to an incurable disease; and, after a life of charity and piety, died about the middle of the sixth century (Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon* ; *Acta Sanctorum*, October, vol. iii, p. 147).

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